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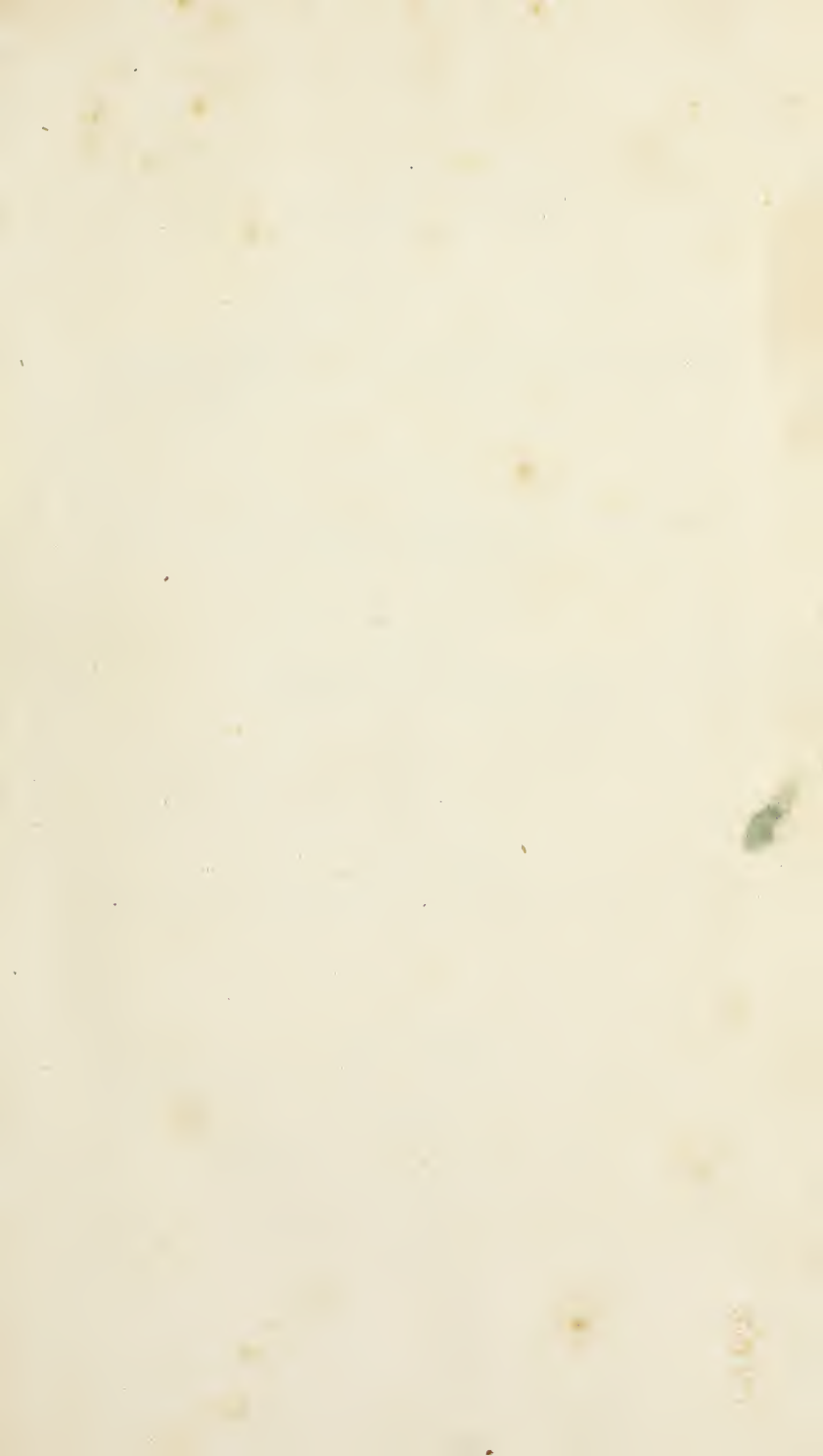
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AMERICAN

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DEVOTED TO

Biblical and General Literature, Theological Discussion, the History  
of Theological Opinions, etc.

CONDUCTED

BY ABSALOM PETERS, D.D.

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# CONTENTS OF VOL. II.

## NO. III.

	Page.		Page.
ART. I. SACRAMENTAL COMMUNION. By Rev. N. Porter, D. D.	1	man, by Rev J. Murdock, D. D.	174
ART. II. EVIDENCE OF TESTIMONY. By Rev. E. Pond, D. D.	14	ART. X. THE PHRASES 'BORN OF GOD,' AND 'BORN AGAIN,' IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D. D.	183
ART. III. WHAT IS SIN. By Prof. M. Stuart,	26	ART. XI. ANTE-COLUMBIAN HISTORY OF AMERICA. DIGHTON ROCK. LANGUAGE OF THE SKRCELLINGS, ETC. By Rev. A. B. Chapin,	191
Have infants any proper knowledge of the divine law?	29	ART. XII. REVIEW OF SELECTIONS FROM GERMAN LITERATURE,	198
Are infants declared to be transgressors?	31	ART. XIII. REVIEW OF BACON'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSES. By Rev. Noah Porter, Jr.	217
ART. IV. THE ORIGIN OF WRITING IN GREECE AND EGYPT. By Rev. T. Parker, Use of Alphabetic Writing in Greece,	71	ART. XIV. CRITICAL NOTICES.	244
Use of letters in Egypt,	86	1. Bush's and Gesenius's Hebrew Grammars,	244
ART. V. NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' SEMINARIES. By Rev. Calvin E. Stowe, D. D.	90	2. Whewell and Henry on Christian Morals,	245
Demanding by the interests of popular education,	93	3. The Christian Philanthropist, by Dr. Cogswell,	247
Ages of pupils proper to be admitted,	96	4. Ripley's Specimens of Foreign Literature,	247
Discipline of the Model School.	96	5. Life of Wilberforce,	248
Three years in the Teachers' Seminary,	97	6. Anthon's Latin and Greek Classics,	249
The Senior class in do. do.	97	7. Memoir and Sermons of Dr. Griffin,	250
Instruction in do. do.	97	8. Hare's Sermons,	251
Influence on society,	111	9. Schoolcraft's Indian Tales,	252
Objections answered,	115	10. Adam's Jubilee of the Constitution,	254
ART. VI. DISCRIMINATIVE PREACHING. By Rev. Prof. Shepard,	129	11. The Metropolitan Pulpit,	254
ART. VII. REVIEW OF MAHAN ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION. By Rev. N. S. Folsom,	143	12. Philip's Life and Times of John Bunyan,	255
ART. VIII. ON THE NATURAL SIGNIFICANCY OF ARTICULATE SOUNDS. By Prof. J. W. Gibbs,	166	13. Sawyer's Mental Philosophy,	255
ART IX. THE CONDITION AND BELIEF OF THE JEWS AT THE TIME OF THE COMING OF CHRIST. An interesting Chapter from Jost's History of the Israelites, Translated from the Ger-		14. Tappan's Review of Edwards on the Will,	257
		15. Additional Notices of New Publications,	258
		ART. XV. MISCELLANEOUS AND LITERARY INTELLIGENCE,	259

# CONTENTS.

## NO. IV.

	Page.*		Page.
ART. I. THE TALMUD AND THE RABBIES. By Prof. Nordheimer. Introductory Remarks, by the Editor, . . . . .	261	ART. IX. THE DURATION OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM. AN EXPOSITION OF 1 COR. 15: 24-28. By Rev. D. Van Valkenburg, . . . . .	439
Geneological Order of Tradition, . . . . .	262	ART. X. COWPER'S POETRY AND LETTERS. By the Author of the Article on "Modern English Poetry," . . . . .	449
Jewish Schools in Palestine, . . . . .	268	ART. XI. BIBLICAL CRITICISMS AND REMARKS By Prof. J. W. Gibbs, . . . . .	480
Rabbinical Schools in Babylonia, . . . . .	261	Use of the number Forty . . . . .	480
Contents of the Babylonian Talmud, . . . . .	287	Misapprehensions of the English Version, . . . . .	483
ART. II. RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY. By Rev. R. Robins, . . . . .	292	ART. XII. CRITICAL NOTICES. 486	
ART. III. THE CHURCH OF GOD. By Rev. S. Helffenstein, Jr. I. Its nature and Constitution, . . . . .	308	1. Magee on Atonement, . . . . .	486
II. Its Transmission and Perpetuity, . . . . .	313	2. Fuhrmann's Manual of Theol. Literature, . . . . .	487
III. The Qualifications of its Members, . . . . .	316	3. Union Bible Dictionary, . . . . .	489
ART. IV. HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ATHEISM By Rev. E. Pond, D. D. . . . .	320	4. Hawk's Contributions to Eccles. History, . . . . .	490
ART. V. REMARKS ON FRENCH PREACHING. REVIEW OF SERMONS OF REV. J. J. AUDEBEZ. By Rev. Robert Baird, . . . . .	332	5. Southey's Poetical Works, . . . . .	491
ART. VI. DUTIES OF A THEOLOGIAN. By Rev. Prof. Park, . . . . .	347	6. Spring's Lectures to Young Men, . . . . .	493
ART. VII. AN ESSAY ON CAUSE AND EFFECT, IN CONNEXION WITH THE DOCTRINES OF FATALISM AND FREE AGENCY, . . . . .	381	7. Annals of Yale College, . . . . .	494
ART. VIII. IS IT MORALLY WRONG TO DRINK WINE OR STRONG DRINK WHICH WHEN TAKEN IN EXCESS PRODUCES INTOXICATION? By Rev. Lewis Mayer, D. D. . . . .	408	8. The Condensed Commentary, . . . . .	495
Note by the Editor, . . . . .	422	9. Upham's Mental Philosophy, . . . . .	496
IS IT EXPEDIENT TO ABSTAIN TOTALLY FROM ALL DRINKS THAT MAY INTOXICATE? . . . . .	424	10. Brown's Law of Christ, . . . . .	497
Notes by the Editor, 430, 432, 434, 436		11. The Presbyterian Church Case, . . . . .	499
		12. History of the Sandwich Islands' Missions, . . . . .	501
		13. Bride of Fort Edward, . . . . .	501
		14. Murray's Travels, . . . . .	502
		15. Harper's Family Library, No. 75 . . . . .	503
		16. Mc Donner, by Abbott, . . . . .	503
		17. The Three Last Things, . . . . .	504
		18. The Poets of America, . . . . .	504
		ADDITIONAL NOTICES, . . . . .	505
		An article from Prof Robinson, . . . . .	506
		Nordheimer's Concordance, . . . . .	506
		INDEX, . . . . .	507

\* The first pages in some of the copies of this No. are marked by mistake, 1, 2 etc., to 16. They should be 261, 262, etc., to 276, and are so referred to in the contents.



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ARTICLE I.  
SACRAMENTAL COMMUNION.

By the Rev. Noah Porter, D. D. Farmington, Conn.

“Is thy heart right with God? If it be, give me thy hand. I do not mean, ‘be of my opinion.’ You need not. Neither do I mean ‘I will be of your opinion,’ I cannot. Let all opinions alone; only give me thine hand.”—*Wesley*.

IN the sacrifice of the passover, it was ordained in Israel that it should not be offered within any of their gates; but only in the place which the Lord their God should choose to place his name in. There the assembled nation were to sacrifice the passover at even. The design was that it should be an act of solemn public communion on the part of the whole people; and for this purpose, even those who were detained at home, were required to testify their concurrence with those who were assembled at the tabernacle, by uniting with them in the use of unleavened bread. There was to be no leavened bread seen in all their coasts seven days.\* So also the ordinances of the New Testament, and especially the feast in which Christ our passover is represented as slain for us, are designed to be communal; and to unite in communion the whole Israel of God. Although in the present world that communion cannot be uni-

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\* Deut. 16: 1—6.

versal in its visible form, there is nothing exclusive in its nature. All "the circumcision," as they have opportunity are required to join, and of course all are bound to receive each other, in its solemnities. Neither sectarian distinctions, nor differences on questions of reform, modes of doing good, or any other subject, which do not involve the essentials of Christianity, can warrantably be made a ground of exclusion. "Receive ye one another as Christ also received us to the glory of God," is the divine rule. A credible profession of the gospel is the only indispensable condition, which we are authorised to require. Or, as the same thing is stated by Robert Hall, "No man, or set of men, are entitled to prescribe as an indispensable condition of communion, what the New Testament has not enjoined as a condition of salvation."

The truth of this principle with application to sectarian differences has of late been extensively admitted; and its prevalence has been hailed as the dawn of a better day. But it may be doubted whether even among the different denominations in this country which are acknowledged by each other to be essentially christian, it has not for a few of the last years been losing ground; and it is notorious that great numbers belonging to these denominations severally have taken positions in relation to each other which are inconsistent with it. In their zeal for reform they have usurped the power which Christ has vested in his church for the preservation of its distinctive character as a society of visible believers, to array public sentiment against particular forms of evil, by excluding from its communion those who are not persuaded to concur in their measures, even though they would not dare to pronounce them unworthy of the christian name. In those divisive measures also which have been so unhappily resorted to, under the pretence, and, as we doubt not with respect to many individuals with the sincere desire, of maintaining the true faith and order of the gospel, it is impossible for impartial observers not to perceive that the great principle of "receiving one another, as Christ also receives us," has been very extensively disowned, or the true spirit of it lamentably forgotten. It is time, then, that this fundamental principle in the constitution of the church of God were reviewed, and the obligations imposed by it, solemnly pondered. With this in view the following considerations are submitted.

1. A credible profession of the Gospel is confessedly the only

indispensable condition authorized by the New Testament for admission to the ordinance of baptism. "Go ye—preach the gospel to every creature. He that *believeth* and is baptized shall be saved." "Go ye—*teach* (*evangelize*) all nations, baptizing them." "*Repent* ye and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ." "As many as *gladly received the word* were baptized." "What doth hinder that I should be baptized? If thou *believest* with all thine heart, thou mayest." These passages clearly imply that whoever gives reasonable evidence of faith in Christ, be he in other respects what he may, is entitled to christian baptism. At the hands of any minister of Christ he may demand it in the name of their common Lord. And where is the passage in all the Scriptures which intimates that other conditions are requisite for one of the special ordinances of the New Testament, than are requisite for the other? When you have received a person to baptism on a profession of his faith, where is your warrant for excluding him from the Lord's supper? By baptism you seal him as a member of the christian church; and where is the evidence that the Lord's supper is not to be administered to all the accredited members of the church? These ordinances are the common inheritance of the family of God, and cannot lawfully be separated.

2. The Lord's supper is especially designed to be a symbol of the union of Christians as fellow members of the body of Christ. The church of Christ is one. Unity is its essential characteristic. All its sincere members are spiritually joined together in Christ, and all its visible members are of course bound to acknowledge each other in the sacred relation. In its first and purest age they did this. Familiar as the spectacle of different christian societies who have no fellowship with each other has become, in the beginning it was not so. Then the gospel was acknowledged and felt to be a bond of union between all those who embraced it. The world saw it, to their astonishment binding together in ties more tender and sacred than those of consanguinity itself, those whose characters and feelings had before been most discordant and repulsive. "Behold," they said, "how these Christians love one another!" From corruptions, indeed, both in doctrine and practice, the primitive church could not, more than the modern, pretend to be free; but those were not suffered to rend the bond of her union. If they were subversive of the common faith, their authors, being irreclaimable,

were expelled ; and if otherwise, were regarded with the forbearance which the imperfection of all claimed. To separate from her communion those whom she acknowledged to have communion with God, she considered a usurpation to be abhorred. There were also, as from the necessity of the case there must always be in the present world, distinct societies of Christians formed for the worship of God in the several places of their residence. Thus was the church of God at Rome, at Corinth, at Ephesus. But these were distinct only in the sense of their being parts of a whole built together as the temple of the living God on their common foundation. "The church," says Cyprian, "is one, which, by reason of its fecundity, is extended into a multitude, in the same manner as the rays of the sun, however numerous, constitute but one light : and as the branches of a tree, however many, are attached to one trunk, which is supported by its tenacious root : and when various rivers flow from the same fountain, though number is diffused by the redundant supply of waters, unity is preserved in their origin." That such is the divine constitution of the church is sufficiently evident from the names by which its members collectively are in the New Testament so uniformly distinguished : "the church"—"the body of Christ"—"the house of the living God." And how often do the apostles call the attention of their brethren to the fact as one of high practical importance ! When they would put down a rising faction ; or repress feelings of pride and emulation ; or shut out the spirit of party, they say : "As the body is one and hath many members and all the members of that one body, being many are one body, so also is Christ. For by one spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free, and have all been made to drink into one spirit. For the body is not one member, but many." Not only is this union essential, but it is peculiar. No other on earth is so near and sacred. Nor is it possible that those things concerning which any of those who are embraced in it may differ from each other, should be important, when compared with those things concerning which they are agreed. "There is one body and one spirit, even as we are called in one hope of our calling. One Lord, one faith, one baptism. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all." Hence their love to each other also is peculiar and distinctive. It is a divine complacency—a love which is not to be distinguished in its nature from their



common attachment to their glorious head. They not only ought, but they actually do love one another in this manner. They all do this so far as they are what they profess to be. Only so far as the church is in this manner one, does it deserve the name of a church of Christ. Love is the badge of its profession ; the principle of its religion ; its nature and its glory. Of all this the supper of the Lord is a divinely constituted token and pledge. "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ?" That is, the symbol of our joint participation of the blessings procured by his blood? "The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ? for we being many are one body and one bread." With divine wisdom is it adapted to the end. Such is its appropriate significancy that no unbeliever,—none but a sincere and devoted servant of Christ, can partake of it, without belying all the sentiments and feelings of his heart ; and such at the same time is its simplicity, that it fixes precisely on the sentiments and feelings which are common to believers without any allusion to those in which they may be supposed to differ. Here the christian profession is brought to a point. Here, then, all those who intelligently and heartily adopt that profession are to meet as they have opportunity ; and, dismissing for the time their individual and conventional partialities, to pay their common honors at the Savior's feet, and bind themselves to each other as the common subjects of his reign and heirs of his glory. To refuse admission to this communion any of those who give reasonable evidence of their spiritual participation of it, is to belie their profession and pervert the ordinance from its sacred design ; is to rend the body of Christ and to do violence to sympathies between his members which his own spirit has created ; is to magnify the causes of their difference into a relative importance which they do not possess, and proportionably sink those in which they are agreed.

3. It is the duty of Christians universally, however erroneous or sinful they may be, to partake, as they have opportunity, in this ordinance, and therefore they ought to be received. The injunction, "Do this in remembrance of me," is plain and positive. It was addressed to the apostles as the founders and representatives of the church. It is therefore binding upon the whole church. Nor is the obligation limited to times and places. If the Saviour's command binds a disciple to come to his table when it is spread in the particular branch of his church

to which he belongs, it equally binds him to come, when it is spread in another branch, though on the opposite side of the globe. There also the command meets him, "Do this in remembrance of me." He dare not therefore refuse; and who has the right to debar him? It were absurd to suppose that anything can make it the duty of the church to debar him from an act which it is his duty to perform.

You are a slaveholder, and are convinced that, in present circumstances you ought to hold your slaves under your personal influence and control. You consider your brethren who sit in judgment on your conduct in this relation and pronounce you guilty of wrong, as interfering with that which does not belong to them; breaking the charities which ought to be preserved between you as fellow-citizens and fellow-christians; and giving countenance to a system of measures which tends to spread discontentment and rebellion in domestic relations. Be it so that you judge rightly. You are permitted to debate the cause with them; and by every argument in your power, persuade them to desist. But if you fail to convince them, you are not therefore to insist on their silence, as the indispensable condition of your christian communion with them, unless at the same time it appear that they are not of those to whom the Saviour says, "This do in remembrance of me." Or, on the other hand, you consider the system of slavery to be repugnant to the principles and spirit of Christianity; and hence infer that slaveholding in every case is sinful. But you do not therefore decide that no slaveholder is a Christian. You are aware that such is the perverting influence of custom and education, and such in many cases are the difficulties under existing laws, in the way of emancipation, that slaveholders, criminal as they may be, may nevertheless not be supposed in every instance to sin wilfully, in refusing or delaying for a season, to dissolve the relation. "It is not for me to decide," you say, "that this may not be the case. Many of them may, for aught that I know, be good Christians, and their churches, christian churches; and I am bound in charity to consider those to be such concerning whom the contrary is not proved." You then consider it their duty to commemorate the death of Christ in those churches. But if it is their duty to do this among themselves, it is equally their duty to do the same when occasionally present with you, and would it not also be your duty to reciprocate the fellowship were you present on a sacramental occasion with



them? Most certainly, unless the command of the Redeemer which creates the obligation, entirely loses its power over you both, on an exchange of places; and this, although in both places you are only in different parts of the same church, and the table that is spread in both is equally the table of the Lord. But if it is their duty to come, you can have no warrant to hinder them. They may claim their seat by their Lord's grant and injunction, and you have no power to shut them away. When he positively commands, *come*, it is at your peril if you step in and say, *forbear*. The argument, it will be perceived, rests wholly in the assumption that you acknowledge them to be Christians, or at least do not decide the contrary. You receive them as you do all other members of the church on the assumption that their profession is sincere, till the contrary is proved; and that the bare act of slaveholding is not proof of the contrary, because there are circumstances in which those who adhere to it may be servants of God. Take the other ground; say that slaveholding is absolutely and universally a disqualification for the table of the Lord; and that it is not the duty of any one so long as he continues in it to approach that hallowed scene either at home or elsewhere; strike from the records of the faithful the many thousands who practise it, and call their churches synagogues of Satan; then indeed, you are consistent with yourself in refusing their communion.

4. There are injunctions of the apostles on the subject of christian communion which justify the same conclusion. These injunctions, indeed, have not for their object the communion of Christians in the sacramental supper particularly. With this view there was no occasion for them. In this sense Christians in their day never dreamed of breaking communion. But there were in some of the churches divisions of sentiment and feeling, tending to an open rupture, and encouraged by false guides, which it required all the wisdom and zeal of the apostles to repress. It is in their addresses with direct reference to these, that we find the great principle on which we have insisted, recognized. "Him that is weak in the faith receive ye; but not to doubtful disputations. For one believeth that he may eat all things; another who is weak, eateth herbs. Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received him." The case was this. The church at Rome consisted partly of Jews. Accustomed to the distinction of clean

and unclean animals, and cherishing also an abhorrence of all participation with idolaters, many of them retained the same scrupulousness after their conversion to the christian faith ; so that lest purchasing their meats in markets where the flesh of heathen sacrifices and of unclean animals was exposed indiscriminately with others they should ignorantly offend, they abstained from meats of every kind, and subsisted on vegetables alone. Others understanding the ceremonial law to have been superseded by the gospel, had no such scruples. There was the same difference also in regard to days which that law had consecrated ; and hence naturally resulted mutual jealousies and recriminations. It requires no effort of the imagination to conceive of the one class judging the other as sensualists, enemies to the law of Moses and pro-idolatry men ; and these retorting the insinuations with the charge of ignorance, legality, bigotry, fanaticism and superstition. The apostle enjoined the abandonment of all such harsh censures and contemptuous epithets, and the suppression of the feelings which dictated them. Him that was weak in the faith, they were not to despise on account of his weakness, but to receive to the bosom of christian kindness and affection ;—to receive not for the purpose of entering into altercation with him on points of difference, but for interchanges of fellowship on subjects of agreement ; leaving him the same liberty which they, each for himself claimed, that of serving God in their own way. The ground of this decision was, not that the subjects in debate were matters of indifference, for they were not such in reality, and were very far from being such in the estimation of the parties concerned ; *but that they were not fundamental*. On the one side they were deemed important as the purity of God's worship and the obligation of his law ; and on the other, important as the truth of the gospel, and the freedom which it gives from a burdensome yoke of bondage ; but neither could pretend that the preferences of the other were inconsistent with the faith of the gospel, and acceptance with God ; and therefore on the ground of their common faith they were to meet in the full flow of those reciprocal affections which it was suited to inspire. “ Let not him that eateth despise him that eateth not ; and let not him which eateth not judge him that eateth ; *for God hath received him*. Who art thou that judgest another man's servant ? to his own master he standeth or falleth ; *yea, he shall be holden up ; for God is able to make him stand*. One man esteemeth one day above

another ; another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind. He that regardeth the day, *regardeth it to the Lord*, and he that regardeth not the day, *to the Lord, he doth not regard it*. He that eateth, *eateth to the Lord*, for he giveth God thanks ; and he that eateth not, *to the Lord, he eateth not*, and giveth God thanks. The application of these principles to subjects in debate between Christians as well as others, at the present day and in this country, ought most seriously to be considered. What torrents of contumely and abuse poured out upon each other, and what heavy reproaches thence resulting to the sacred name by which they are called, had been spared, had these divine sayings been duly regarded, it is not difficult to see. Their application to the more specific form of communion, not contemplated, is also plain. For if the apostle so strongly reprehended those unkindnesses in the ordinary intercourse of brethren by which the comfort of their union was marred, what would he have said had they proceeded, for the same cause, to an open rupture ? If notwithstanding their differences they were to receive each other in the embraces of mutual affection, because both were received of God, surely they could not refuse each other those sacred symbols of the love of Christ which he expressly appointed as the visible pledges of that affection.

How is it, then, that Christians can violate a principle so vital to their religion, and so dear too to their own hearts when the love of God is shed abroad in them by the Holy Ghost ? To mistaken views of the consequences of a strict adherence to it in cases of difference, must this in part be ascribed. The notion is firmly wrought into the minds of some that by sitting at the table of the Lord with those by whom, as they conceive, errors in doctrine or practice are embraced, they virtually certify their approbation of those errors, and become partakers of the sin. Does our communion with another in the Lord's supper, then, imply our approbation of all that belongs to his character and conduct ? On this principle all communion whatever in this ordinance is forever cut off ; for not an individual on earth can be found whose character in every point another can approve. And why are we not equally precluded from all other acts of communion ? Social prayer, the right hand of fellowship, the commendatory epistle, the appellation of brother or sister as a term of spiritual relationship, are as really tokens of communion as the Lord's supper ; and equally involve a par-

ticipation in the sins of those with whom we reciprocate them. But in truth social communion goes no farther than the acts which express it. Uniting with another in prayer is only assenting to the worship. Giving a brother a letter of commendation only certifies his standing in the church. So also to sit down with him at the table of the Lord is an act of communion with him in the body and blood of the Lord, and nothing more. Whatever errors in doctrine or corruptions in worship or in morals he may adopt, provided only that these are not inconsistent with his having communion with Christ in his body and blood, they are not inconsistent with our communion with him in these. His sins are his own; and to his own master he standeth or falleth.

But it is said, 'we are bound to testify against all sin, and sins which have found their way into the church and are tolerated there, it is especially our duty to rebuke; but to sit down at the table of the Lord with those who freely practise and justify them is to make void our testimony.' There are unquestionably sins which call for the judicial sentence of the church on such as persist in them, excluding them from its communion. But the power of this infliction is not given to individual members, and least of all, the power of inflicting it on sincere though erring disciples. And for what purpose should it be desired? For the reformation of the erring? The apostle has shown us a more excellent way. "Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted." To the performance of this office, with the very best hopes of success, communion with "such an one" in the supper of the Lord, interposes no hindrance. Who is so likely to convince another of an error, as he who first convinces him of his own love? Or who will so powerfully persuade him to repentance as he who avails himself of his known regard for him, plainly, yet tenderly, to tell him of his faults? No—it is not by first casting out each other among the dogs, that brethren can hope to exert upon each other a reclaiming influence. Let them meet as children at their father's table; let their hearts be melted together by the love of their elder brother as exhibited there; and let their habitual demeanor and spirit be correspondent, and they will then be prepared in the best possible manner, to canvass together the subject concerning which they may have been at variance. Or if the object be a public testimony against prevailing sins, nei-



ther is this precluded by sacramental communion with any who, even though they may be considered as giving countenance to those sins, are yet to be regarded as members of Christ. The apostle Paul did not think himself precluded from an open testimony against the sins of the Corinthian Christians—their party strifes, their litigious spirit, and their profanation of the sacred supper, because at the same time he acknowledged them to be “a church of God, sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be saints.” Nor did the Lord Jesus Christ forbear to testify against the sins of the seven churches of Asia, nor to call on all who had ears to hear what the spirit said to those churches, because he walked among them as the golden candlesticks of his spiritual temple. And what minister of Christ is there who reproves the church of his care with the less freedom or boldness, because he glorifies God for the grace that is conferred upon it?

There is indeed a way of testifying against sin, which the conscience of no man, that is not past feeling, can permit him to employ with those whom he admits to an interchange of the sacramental pledges of christian affection. Brethren cannot go from the table of the Lord to brand each other with names and epithets which belong to the vilest of men. Herein lies the moral power—the restraining—the divinely blessed influence of the ordinance on those who seriously observe it. And if there are any who would cast out their brethren for the very purpose of feeling themselves at liberty in this manner to judge them, let them first judge their own selves, and solemnly inquire whether no spirit of vindictiveness has unconsciously mingled itself with their zeal against sin.

An argument has been extensively circulated asserting that by the authority of the apostle Paul, slave-holders are expressly excluded from the Lord’s supper, as “extortioners:”—enjoining on us, as he does 1 Cor. 5: 11, “if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one, not to keep company, no, not to eat.” It should be considered that in close connection with this injunction 1 Cor. 6: 9, 10, the apostle declares concerning the very same class of persons, “fornicators, idolaters, covetous, drunkards, revilers, extortioners, and others, that they shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” The argument, then, whether sound or otherwise, makes nothing against our position. That we are to join in sacramental communion with any whom the Bible declares specifically to have

no inheritance in the kingdom of God, certainly is not pretended. But it has been generally conceded on all hands that there are slave-holders whose christian character is not to be questioned. It has been avowedly with the hope of first disenthraling their minds of the perverting influence of the system, and by their means reforming public sentiment around them, that the anti-slavery enterprize has been carried forward. Whether wisely or not, this is not the place to show. It is only with a view to their bearing on a fundamental principle of the church of God, that these remarks are made. There are, then, slave-holders who are not "extortioners," in the sense of the declaration that "extortioners shall not inherit the kingdom of God." For the same reason there are those who are not extortioners in the sense of the injunction, "with such not to keep company, no, not to eat." It is true that to take advantage of another's weakness to wrest from him his due, whether by slavery or in any other way, and even the desire of doing this, is, in the sight of God, of the nature of extortion. So also is the harboring of impure desire, adultery—and hankering for that which is another's, covetousness; and inordinate love for the world, idolatry—and the unkind application of any opprobrious epithet to another, reviling. But if all those who are chargeable before God with sins of this nature, of whatever degree or form, may therefore be properly characterized as "fornicators, covetous, idolaters, revilers, and extortioners," whom can we know to be those with whom in the sacred supper of the Lord, we may eat?—who would dare himself to partake in that ordinance? who, indeed, could be saved? Surely it becomes those who on such grounds assume the authority of shutting away acknowledged brethren from the ordinance, to inquire whether there are not "with them also sins against the Lord."

The spiritual power with which Christ has armed his church is high and awful. As the means in the last resort of softening and reclaiming, when duly exercised, it has no parallel on earth. Many, however, seem to forget that its efficacy depends entirely on its harmonizing with the conscience of the transgressor. Responded to there, it comes as the voice of God to the soul, by the organ which he has expressly instituted, to be confirmed, unless repentance intervene, by a corresponding sentence, at the last day. But when the censure falls on those who are sustained by the consciousness of integrity, and more especially if they are also fortified by the approving sentiments of the com-



munity or a respectable portion of the community around them ; when the voice is regarded not as the voice of God, or of his appointed organ, but only of a party and is opposed by a contrary decision equally claiming a divine sanction, how much worse than powerless it becomes ! As it confessedly carries no argument, so it is regarded only as a perversion of authority. It has no tendency to convince, and can have no influence but to excite prejudice and provoke disgust. As a public testimony also it is contemptible in its weakness ; while it presents the church in an attitude by which supremely God is dishonored, his enemies triumph, and his friends are forced to retire and weep, disheartened, wounded, enfeebled. O when will these things cease ? When shall “ the envy of Ephraim depart, and the adversaries of Judah be cut off ; that Ephraim shall not envy Judah, nor Judah vex Ephraim ? ” When will the followers of “ the martyred Lamb ” learn that to testify against sin, they have no need to thrust out the sinner ;—that to pronounce a man criminal, is not of course to pronounce him unfit for the communion of the faithful ; that the church of God is one ; the common refuge and home of the Jew and the Gentile ; the bond and the free ; the strong and the weak ; the enlightened and the ignorant ; all of every nation, class and character who call upon the name of Jesus Christ in sincerity ; and that its essential bond is love, pure, fervent, unfeigned ; love surmounting all distinctions of nation, color, caste, rank, and sect ; love prevailing over all errors, mistakes and infirmities among those who feel its power ; constraining them to cover each other’s imperfections, bear with each other’s wrongs, befriend one another in trials, be careful of each other’s reputation and feelings, deny themselves to do each other good, and labor, pray and suffer together, to promote the common end of all, the glory of God, in the salvation of souls, with the hope of standing together at last before the throne of glory, and there with perfect union of heart and voice, saying “ Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb.”

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## ARTICLE II.

## EVIDENCE OF TESTIMONY.

By the Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D. Bangor Theological Seminary, Maine.

The *evidence of testimony* is that species of evidence which is derived, not from intuition, or reflection, or originally from the senses, but from *the communications of others*. A moment's consideration will satisfy every reader as to the vast importance of this species of evidence. Our own personal observation is circumscribed within narrow limits. Few comparatively are the important facts with which we become acquainted in this way. Almost all our knowledge—those branches of it especially on which we set the highest value, are the result of testimony.

It is testimony, not personal observation, which opens to us the lights of *history*, and makes us acquainted with what has been transacted in other times, and in distant portions of the globe.

Our *geographical* knowledge is almost all of it acquired in the same way. We have not personally traversed the surface of the earth, to observe its mountains, its rivers, its islands, plains, and seas; and what we know of it, for the most part, we receive from others.

The same must be said of by far the greater part of our *philosophical* knowledge. How few have actually searched out and demonstrated the truth of those propositions, which are laid down in our books of natural science. We satisfy ourselves as to the competency and accuracy of those who have investigated these subjects, and take their conclusions upon trust.

Indeed, most of the important business of life—of *professional* life, and of *common* life—proceeds upon the evidence of testimony. That system of religion which the christian minister is called upon to inculcate and enforce, rests very materially on testimony. A large proportion of the labor of the jurist consists in weighing and canvassing testimony, and in framing his decisions according to it. The merchant freights his ships, and sends them across the ocean to lands he never saw, and of which he has no knowledge, but from testimony. In short, all men

act, habitually, more or less on this species of evidence; and they feel as secure in acting on it, as they do on the evidence of their senses.

It has been urged by Hume, and others, that our reliance on testimony is wholly the result of *experience*. We hear those around us, for the most part, speaking the truth, and we *learn*, at length, to believe them, and confide in them. But this, obviously, is an inadequate view of the subject. We do not *learn* to believe testimony, in the manner here described. Were this the case, children and persons of little experience would believe almost nothing. Whereas, in fact, they believe almost everything. They are proverbially *credulous*, until experience of the falsehood and treachery of the world has taught them to hesitate. We learn from experience, not to believe, but to doubt; not to confide in testimony, but to suspect it.

The foundation of our reliance on testimony is laid deep in *our own nature*. It is too important to us to be laid anywhere else. We as *naturally* confide in well authenticated testimony, as we do in our memories, or in our external senses. Nor is our confidence in the former source of knowledge more easily shaken, than in the two latter sources. Our senses sometimes deceive us, and so do our memories, and so does the evidence of testimony; but we do not, on this account, throw either of them away, or reckon them of no value. Our experience of the fallibility of these great sources of knowledge—these lights of the soul—should only lead us the more carefully to look after them, to investigate their nature and laws, that we may the better determine when to confide in them, and when not.

My principal object, in this paper, is to state and illustrate some of *the laws* of testimony; or to specify *the conditions, the circumstances*, under which the evidence of testimony is conclusive. And,

1. In order that testimony may be admitted, the thing testified to must be *possible*. This is too obvious almost to require notice. No amount of testimony can justify us in believing an impossibility. We may be required to believe a strange thing, a marvellous thing, a thing to our apprehension supernatural and unaccountable; but it must at least be a *possible* thing;—a thing involving, in the idea of it, no palpable contradiction or absurdity. Otherwise, no testimony, however unexceptionable in other respects, can justify us in believing it.

This point is pleasantly illustrated by President Edwards.

“If,” says he, “some learned philosopher who had been abroad, in giving an account of the curious observations he had made in his travels, should say, that he had seen an animal, which he calls by a certain name, that begat and brought forth himself, and yet had a sire and dam distinct from himself; that he had an appetite and was hungry before he had a being; that his master, who led and governed him at pleasure, was always led and governed by him, and driven by him where he pleased; that when the animal moved, he always took a step before the first step; that he went with his head first, and yet always went tail foremost, and this though he had neither head nor tail;—it would be no imprudence,” says Edwards, “to tell such a traveller, although a man of profound learning, that he had never seen such an animal as he described; that he had no idea of it, and never could have.”

2. That testimony may be conclusive, it is necessary that there should be a competent *number* of witnesses. What this number is, I will not now undertake to decide. Our Saviour, in framing rules for his church, requires that “in the mouth of *two* or *three* witnesses, every word may be established.” Matt. 18: 16. Moses enjoins the same law on the Israelites, especially in cases of capital offence. “At the mouth of *two* or *three* witnesses, shall he that is worthy of death be put to death.” Deut. 17: 6. Our civil courts think themselves authorized to act, I believe, on something less than this amount of testimony. It is sufficient for my present purpose to say, that testimony, in order to be conclusive, must be ample. The number of witnesses must be such, that those who hear them can have no good reason to object or hesitate on account of their fewness.

3. That testimony may be conclusive, the witnesses must have had the *means*, and the *capacity*, of forming a correct judgment in reference to the things about which they testify. They must be *original* witnesses, deriving their knowledge, not from others, but from their own observations. They must be able to speak, not what they have heard, but what they know. And they must be of sufficient age and understanding to form a judgment of the things about which they speak. Thus, on ordinary subjects, the testimony of a child would have less weight than that of a man. Or if the question were one of science, or of art, the testimony of an ignorant person would have little weight, compared with that of one who was familiar-



ly acquainted with the particular subject of inquiry. A person, for example, unacquainted with law, would be incompetent to testify on points of law. He might not even understand the terms in which questions were propounded to him. A person unacquainted with chemical analyses and combinations would be incompetent to testify on questions of this nature. The general rule is (and it is a very obvious one) that in order to a valid testimony, witnesses must have had the means, and must be intellectually capable, of coming to a knowledge, or forming a judgment of the particular points on which they testify.

4. It is necessary to a conclusive testimony, that the witnesses should possess, each of them, an *unexceptionable moral character*. The value of testimony, in every case, depends very materially on the character of him who utters it. Who believes a notorious liar, even if he chances to speak the truth? And with about the same pertinency it may be asked, Who confides in the testimony of an individual, whose character is stained with any vice? For in order to be the perpetrator of vice, in any of its forms, a person must, of necessity, have broken down his conscience. He must have divested himself of moral principle, and perhaps also of the feebler restraints of pride and shame. And now he is in a state to perpetrate anything—to fall into any new vice or crime to which he may be strongly tempted. He would sell his Saviour for less than what Judas received for him. His word he would barter for a song. The more prominent vices usually hang in clusters. It is rare that we see one of them long standing out upon the character of a man alone. Hence, to be in a situation to bear a strong, unquestionable testimony, a person must possess an unstained, an unimpeachable moral character. And hence, with the utmost propriety it is determined by our laws, that certain defects of moral character utterly disqualify a person to bear testimony in a court of justice.

5. In order to give an unquestionable testimony, not only must a person's general character be good, but he must be understood, at the time, to be *disinterested*. He must be under the influence of no strong, impelling motives to mis-state the facts of which he speaks, or to falsify his testimony. Men act from motives. They can no more act without them, than they can without faculties or members. And we are always influenced by motives just in proportion to the force with which, at the time, they strike us, or the strength with which they bear

upon our minds. Now a person may possess, in general, a fair moral character. He may be so far under the influence of high moral principles, as to be effectually restrained in ordinary circumstances, from falsifying his word, or perpetrating any vice. And yet, when placed in new and peculiar circumstances, where strong motives of interest are brought to bear upon him, his course may waver—his moral strength may fail. To favor himself or those whom he loves, he may consent, for once, to conceal or mis-state the truth. It is on this account that our laws have determined, that certain relations or circumstances of interest disqualify a person altogether to give testimony. It is on this account that testimony is always suspected, just in proportion to the degree of interest which the witness is supposed to have in the question at issue.

6. It is necessary, in order to a convincing testimony, that it should be given in *plain, direct terms*. Studied, evasive, equivocal language is always suspicious. It indicates that the person using it has some sinister object in view. He has some purpose in mind, aside from that of telling the plain, honest truth. Besides, evasive, equivocal language cannot be easily and certainly understood. It may mean this or that ; and no one can determine, without an explanation, what it does mean. The rule we are considering is therefore one of obvious propriety and importance. The language of testimony should be *plain* and *explicit* ; and the more so the better. It should be, not only such as can be understood, but such as cannot well be misunderstood.

7. When several witnesses give testimony to the same facts, it is necessary that their statements should be, on all essential points, *concurrent*. This does not imply, that they must all tell precisely the same story, or that they must agree in every minute particular. Such an agreement would be rather suspicious, than otherwise. It would furnish ground for the conjecture, that there had been concert between the witnesses, and that a story had been fabricated. But convincing testimony must be so far concurrent, that no part of it shall be self-contradictory. And more than this, it must concur in establishing the *main facts* or *points* of a case. There may be slight variations of statement, one witness omitting what another relates ; or one dwelling more fully and circumstantially upon some particular points than another. Such variations are to be expected in honest witnesses ; and they are an indication of honesty, rather than otherwise. But there must be a *substantial* agree-



ment.. Their testimony must be mutually corroborative, and must go to establish the main points of the case for which it is introduced.

8. It adds not a little to the weight of testimony, when the facts alleged are of such a nature, that the witnesses, if they have falsified, are *open to detection*. So obviously just is this rule, that any case which fails to come under it does not admit, on this very account, of being substantiated in the most satisfactory manner by testimony. For example, suppose two or three individuals should profess to have intercourse with the spiritual world, and from time to time should relate very seriously the wonders which they had seen there. They have no external proofs to urge in support of their statements. These rest on their simple testimony; but this testimony, is uniform and consistent, and is entitled to all the weight which their general character for truth and honesty can give it; still, if they have falsified, their fellow men have no means of detecting them, they cannot look into the spiritual world, and cannot tell whether the witnesses have spoken the truth or not. Compare this now with another case. I receive a letter, subscribed by two or three credible witnesses, informing me that an absent friend is sick, and urging me to visit him immediately. Every one perceives that the testimony in this latter case is vastly stronger and more satisfactory than in the former. Why? The number of witnesses is the same; and the characters which they sustain for integrity and honesty may be equal. But in the latter case, the witnesses, if they have falsified, are open to detection. And they certainly will be detected; they knew they should be, when they wrote. Hence, they had stronger inducements than the witnesses in the former case could have, to speak the truth.

9. Convincing testimony will be, not contradicted, but *confirmed*, at least so far as might be reasonably expected, by other evidence. Wherever this rule fails to apply, the testimony, however good in other respects, is rendered suspicious, if it be not destroyed. For example, suppose a navigator to return from the Pacific Ocean, and assert that he had discovered a large and important island. He gives the latitude and longitude of the place, and describes its peculiarities, its productions, and inhabitants. His whole crew agree with him in the statement, and thus we have their united testimony to the fact in question. But suppose, on examination, that they have brought nothing away with them from the discovered island. They

have none of its peculiarities in their possession, they have nothing to exhibit in evidence that they have ever been there. Suppose, also, that shortly after, another navigator returns, who passed over the same latitude and longitude—the same spot exactly, and saw no island. Suppose this last is followed by a third, who passed over the same spot, and bears the same testimony. He saw no island. What now are we to think of the testimony of the first? It is in great measure, if not utterly, destroyed. By failing of the requisite confirmation, it is rendered of no account, and its author is justly regarded as a falsifier.

There are various ways in which testimony, if true, may be confirmed; and in which, in most cases, it *will* be confirmed. It may be confirmed by circumstantial evidence, as well as positive; by proofs direct and indirect. And in order to be convincing, it must be confirmed, at least so far as, from the nature of the case, might reasonably be expected.

10. I mention but another law of testimony, which is, that it be followed up by a *correspondent, consistent* course of action. The author of it must *live* and *act* as though his testimony was true. This position may be illustrated by a familiar example. In the year 1492, Columbus returned from his first voyage to America, and testified to Ferdinand and Isabella that he had discovered a new world. His whole company united with him in this testimony. But suppose that, instead of acting as though what they said was true, they had appeared and acted just as if it was not true. They exhibit nothing in evidence that they have discovered another continent. They can give no concurrent, consistent description of this continent, or of any portion of it. They are unwilling to return, and make another voyage. They are unwilling that others should go upon their track, and verify the testimony which they have given. In view of a course of conduct such as this, who would have yielded to Columbus the least credit? Who would not have denounced him, as a gross deceiver? The truth is, we expect consistency in honest men. We feel that we have a right to expect it. And where we do not perceive it in a witness, or at least some reasonable portion of it, we lose all confidence in his testimony. Unless strongly corroborated by other evidence, we reject it as worthless.

I have thus stated, under several particulars, what I conceive to be the *laws* of testimony. I have noticed the *conditions*, the *circumstances*, under which the evidence of testimony be-

comes conclusive. The facts testified to must be, in their nature, possible. The witnesses must be sufficient in point of numbers, and competent as to understanding and means of knowledge. Their characters must be in general fair, and their motives disinterested. Their testimony must be plainly, explicitly given, and the different parts of it must be mutually consistent and corroborative. While of a nature, if untrue, to admit of contradiction, it must be, not contradicted, but confirmed, by other evidence. It must also be followed out, on the part of witnesses, by a correspondent course of action and life.

I would not be understood to say, that these laws of testimony are all of them of equal value ; or that a testimony which does not conform to them *all* is, of course, to be rejected. But I do say, that *testimony which does conform to them all is in every case to be received*. Such testimony is *fully* entitled to credit. It is sufficient, of itself, to establish *truth*. It is such as the world receives and acts upon, without the least hesitation, in regard to all subjects. In short, it is *incontestible* and *conclusive*, and cannot be set aside, but upon principles which, so far as respects the wide field of testimony, would introduce a universal scepticism.

I am aware that I use strong language here, and I will illustrate the propriety of it by putting a strong case. There are some persons in this country—ignorant persons, to be sure—who seriously doubt whether there is, on the coast of Africa, any such colony as Liberia. They have heard so many contradictory stories respecting the colony—some extolling it, and others condemning it—that they incline to the opinion that there is no colony there. Now what are my readers to think in regard to this matter? We have never been there. The question is to us, or certainly to the most of us, one of pure testimony. Is the testimony conclusive? Let us compare it with our canons, and see. It is certainly *possible*, in the first place, that that there should be such a colony. Then the witnesses who testify to its existence are *numerous*. They are capable of forming a judgment respecting it, and have had the requisite means of information. Their characters, in many instances, are good ; and although some of them may be actuated by motives of interest, this certainly is not the case with them all. Not a few who tell us that there is such a colony, for they have seen it, would probably be glad if there was no colony there. The testimony on the point

in question has been given with abundant plainness; and so far as respects the *fact* of the colony, it is entirely consistent with itself. If untrue, it might long ago have been contradicted; but so far from being contradicted, it is continually confirmed. And besides, the authors of the testimony act in consistency with it. They sail to and from the colony, and manifest all that interest in regard to it—either in its favor or against it—which might be expected, on supposition of its real existence.

We see, therefore, that the testimony, as to the existence of Liberia, conforms to all the laws of valid testimony, and consequently is conclusive. There *is* such a colony. No intelligent person can doubt it. No intelligent person does doubt it, any more than he would, if he had seen it with his eyes.

Still further to illustrate the application of our rules, I may even put a stronger case. I never saw the city of London; and the same, I presume, may be said of the greater portion of my readers; still, we do not doubt that there is such a city, any more than if we had seen it. The fact of its existence has become as certain to us, on the evidence of testimony, as if we had derived it from the evidence of sense. And now if we reflect a moment, we shall perceive that the testimony on which we ground our faith as to the existence of London conforms to each and all of the laws of testimony above laid down. We shall perceive, too, that this is the reason, and the sole reason, why our faith in the existence of London is so strong. If the testimony in the case were different; if it failed to conform to some one, two, or three of the laws of valid testimony; if, for example, the witnesses were few, and incompetent, of bad character, and deeply interested; if their testimony had not been confirmed, as might be reasonably expected, and they did not themselves act as though they believed it;—under these circumstances, we might have our faith shaken as to the existence even of London. We might be constrained to disbelieve its existence altogether.

It is important to remark here, that where we can be satisfied as to the *authenticity* of testimony, the laws of testimony apply equally to facts of *ancient date*, as to those of recent or present occurrence. We have heard for example of such a city as Carthage. We are satisfied that the testimony as to the existence of this ancient city is authentic. We find, by comparison, that this testimony conforms to all the laws of valid testimony which have been considered. Under these circum-



stances, we no more doubt that there was anciently such a city as Carthage, than we do that there is now such a city as London.

We have all heard of such a man as Cicero. The testimony respecting him, as recorded on the page of history, we deem authentic. This testimony we find conformable to all the laws which have been laid down. Hence, we as firmly believe that there lived, some two thousand years ago, such a man as Cicero, as we believe that there now live such men as Lord Brougham or O'Connell.

The only difference as to proof from testimony, between events of ancient and of recent date, relates to the *authenticity* of the testimony. The question of authenticity may not be so readily settled in the former case, as in the latter. But *when settled*, the laws of testimony are applicable to both alike, and so far as they apply to both, the proof from testimony will be equal.

The way is now prepared to apply these principles to a particular case, in which all my readers have a deep personal interest;—I refer to the testimony *in support of Christianity*. The evidences of Christianity do not fall, *all* of them, under the head of testimony. By no means. But it will be seen, in the sequel, that if they did, there would be no room for doubt or hesitancy on the subject. The evidence in the case derived from *testimony* is of such a nature, and so strong, that it can never be set aside, without violating all the laws of testimony, and adopting principles which, if carried out, would introduce an almost universal skepticism.

The main facts alleged, which go to constitute the christian system, are familiar to all who read the Bible, and need not be repeated here. They rest materially, though (as I said) not wholly, on the evidence of testimony. The authenticity of this testimony, or of the records conveying it, is indubitable. No one doubts the authenticity of the Orations of Cicero, or the Odes of Horace. Yet I hazard nothing in saying, that the evidence in favor of the authenticity of the four gospels is far greater in amount, and more satisfactory in kind, than that in support of either of the works above mentioned. Presuming then the question of authenticity as being settled, let us look at the testimony in support of Christianity, and compare it with the canons above laid down.

First, then, the facts of the christian system involve *no im-*



*possibility*. Some of them, to be sure, are marvellous and miraculous, above our comprehension and our power. Still, they are not impossible. They *may be* true.

Then the witnesses in the case are sufficiently *numerous*. We have four separate, independent histories of the life, teachings, actions, sufferings, death and resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ. And in these histories, reference is had to a *far greater* number of witnesses, amounting in all to hundreds, if not to thousands.

These witnesses generally had the best means of information, and were capable of forming an intelligent judgment, in regard to the facts about which they testified. They were men living at the time, and on the ground. They were eye and ear witnesses of the events which they relate. And these events were of such a nature, that intelligent men in common life were fully competent to judge of their reality.

Again ; the writers of the gospels, so far as we can judge from their works, and from other sources of information which have come to us, were men of *good moral character*. Certainly, the authors of such works, evincing and inculcating the strictest honesty of purpose, and disapproving and condemning every kind of deception, should not be suspected on slight grounds, of an intention to deceive.

Especially should they not be suspected, since they had no motive of *interest* to induce them to fabricate a deception, and pass it off upon the world, but every consideration of a worldly nature was impelling them the other way. The price of proclaiming and publishing the gospel message was to them the loss of all things ; and they had every reason to expect beforehand that it would be so.

Again, the testimony of these men is given in the *plainest* and most *direct* terms. It is altogether an *explicit* testimony, without any attempt at evasion, or equivocation.

And not only so, it is throughout a *concurrent* testimony—*consistent with itself*. There are differences, indeed, in the gospels. The witnesses do not tell precisely the same story. Nor could it be reasonably expected that they would. It would be a serious objection to them, if they did. Still, their testimony is, on the whole, concurrent. It is a *united* testimony, going to establish, as with one voice, the main facts of the case.

It should be further considered, that the story of these wit-

nesses, if not true, admitted of a ready and easy *contradiction*. If, for example, Christ did not feed thousands of people with a few loaves and fishes ; if he did not heal the sick and raise the dead ; if he was not tried, condemned, crucified, and buried ; and if he did not rise from the dead on the third day ; how easy to have effectually contradicted these stories, when they were first published. Yet they were not contradicted. They could not be. So far from this, they received *confirmation* from a thousand sources. The enemies of Christ, as well as his friends, admitted the *reality* of his miracles, the former ascribing them to magic and Beelzebub, the latter to the power of God. Great numbers, who were actually concerned in the crucifixion of Christ, were soon found among his followers, and united their testimony with that of his previous followers, in confirmation of the gospel history. The main facts of this history have been receiving continual confirmation, coming from all quarters, from the times of their occurrence to the present day.

And to crown the whole, the original witnesses in this most important case *lived* and *acted* as though their testimony was true. They certainly knew whether it was true or not ; and they proclaimed aloud, and everywhere, in their future lives—in their toils and perils, their sacrifices and sufferings, and under the bloody hand of the executioner—that it *was* true. They sealed their testimony, in most cases, with their lives. As I have said before, men will not act without motives. Indeed, they cannot, more than they can without faculties or members. Now if the testimony of the original witnesses to the gospel history was true, they had motives enough to just that course of life which they pursued. But if their testimony was not true, and they knew it was not, under what possible motive or influence could they have acted ? What could have sustained them, amid all their persecutions and sufferings, in prison, in exile, and in the most terrible forms of death ?

I affirm therefore, in conclusion, and I feel authorized to do it with the utmost assurance, that the testimony in support of the gospel history conforms to all the laws of valid testimony, and consequently is *conclusive*. Hence, the gospel history, and with it the entire system of Christianity, is *true*. It is *supported*. If there were no evidence in support of it but that of testimony, this alone would be, on all reasonable grounds, *incontestible, resistless*.

What law of valid testimony can be conceived of, to which the testimony in support of Christianity does not conform? What favoring circumstance can be added to this testimony, to make it more satisfactory or conclusive? And how shall this massy column of testimony be overturned? On what principles can it be set aside? Most assuredly, as it seems to me, he who would set it aside must adopt principles, which would put it out of his power to prove anything from testimony. On the principles he must adopt, he could not prove that there were even such cities as Babylon and Carthage; or such men as Demosthenes and Cicero; or that there are now any places, beings, or things, on the face of the wide earth, which he has not seen with his own eyes, or come to the knowledge of through some one or more of his bodily senses. He must adopt principles which, so far as the evidence of testimony is concerned, would lead to an universal scepticism.

I only add, that if Christianity is true, it is *the greatest of all truths*. If true at all, it is true in *all its parts*—its doctrines, its precepts, its warnings, its sanctions. It is true in its various bearings, and far reaching influences. It is truth immediately, and of all others most solemnly, interesting to mortals.

### ARTICLE III.

#### WHAT IS SIN?

By M. Stuart, Prof. Sac. Lit. Theol. Sem. Andover. [Concluded from p. 294.]

WE have already seen, in the course of the preceding discussion, that there is an essential union of all parties in regard to the proper definition or description of *actual sin*. The question now remains, and it is a question which may be fairly raised and ought to be candidly discussed: Whether there is, properly speaking, any other sin besides actual sin? In other words: Do the Scriptures recognize, and ought we to adopt, the *phraseology* of ORIGINAL SIN, either imputed or inherent?

Let it be noted here, that this question is one, at least as it presents itself to my mind it is one, which concerns *words* rather than things. I have all along maintained, and do verily

believe, that among good and enlightened men there is no real question, and there ought to be no dispute, whether our nature, since the fall of Adam, is degenerate and prone to sin ; nor, whether all, infants and adults, those born in heathen or in Christian lands, need the regenerating and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit. The denial of these positions would, in my apprehension, be a denial of truth which is plainly taught in the Scriptures, and which is fundamental in the system of Christian doctrine.

The dispute that exists, then, if I am correct in these statements, has respect principally, in the first place, to the *propriety* of calling that SIN which is not voluntary transgression of a known law,—and secondly, the propriety of maintaining, that a part or state of our being which is involuntary, a defect of our present original nature in regard to the constitution of which we never had nor could have any voluntary agency nor give any voluntary assent, is matter of just and eternal condemnation, and as really damnable as the voluntary transgression of a known law. I admit that most of those who advocate the form of doctrine that is brought into question, would not be strenuous in maintaining, that what they call *original sin* deserves animadversion as severe as that which might properly be bestowed upon the *voluntary* transgression of a known law. It is only now and then, when a writer of warm feelings takes up this subject, that we find original and actual sin ranked under the same category of guilt, and in all essential respects amalgamated together. In the sober discussion of this subject, then, we need not take particular notice of this excess. Some are always to be found, who, from their state of excited feeling, and from zeal against those whom they suppose to differ from them, are prone to make the strongest propositions respecting the matter in dispute, which the power of language will enable them to make. Such would not improbably deem it amiss in me to call their attention to anything which I could say ; and I therefore address myself particularly to those who are more seriously, carefully, and candidly inquiring, what they ought to believe and teach in respect to the subject before us.

But before I proceed to the particular examination of this subject, I must beg permission to take some notice of a recent phenomenon in our theological world, which bears the appearance at least of novelty, and is perhaps entitled to some consideration.



Whenever disputes arise among theologians, and come to be carried on with warmth and zeal, it generally happens that there are some, who, actuated perhaps at first by the fear of excess and by a certain love of moderation, or (to give the matter a still more favourable construction) hoping to be peace-makers between contending parties, assume, as the banner under which they desire to enlist, that which bears the old inscription: *In medio tutissimus ibis*; and while marching under this banner it not unfrequently happens, that they at last become "fierce for moderation," and in fact deal out more indiscriminate censure than most of those who belonged at first to the warmly contending parties.

I will not say, for it would not be true, that there are not many occasions, on which it would be altogether proper to hoist such a flag as that which has just been named. But this is very plain, viz., that the nature of the case must be well considered, before we can safely go forward under such a banner. If the dispute be: Whether there is a God? Whether the Bible is a book divinely inspired and of paramount authority? Whether salvation is all of *grace*, and not of merit? and so in regard to a multitude of other questions like these; in a word, if the dispute concerns any thing which must be wholly true, or not true at all in any degree; then there is no *medium iter*, no intermediate region between the land and the water, which is neither land nor water. Any one, therefore, who takes an interest in a contest of such a nature as this, must relinquish the hope that there is in such cases a middle ground on which he can take his stand. If he does not relinquish it, he will at least be in a condition like that, which (as report goes) the late illustrious La Fayette represented the *juste milieu* as occupying in the house of Deputies at Paris: "One party [*extrême gauche*] says that two and two make *four*; another party [*extrême droite*] says that two and two make *six*; a third party [*juste milieu*—the *medium iter* men] says: No, neither the one nor the other is right; the truth, as usual, lies between the extremes, for two and two make *five*."

But—to the subject immediately before us; which has respect to a peculiar class of theologians, seeking for a station somewhere between what is called the Old School and the New.

There have arisen among us a few, and, so far as my knowledge extends, but a few, who maintain a singular theory in re-

spect to the subject of sin, and one that I propose briefly to examine, before I proceed further in the great topic before us. They concede that all sin must consist in *the actual and voluntary transgression of law*; but they maintain at the same time, that infants, for example, have from the earliest period of their existence some proper knowledge of the divine law; at all events, that they have so much as to render them capable of being *sinner*s in the sense alleged, i. e. in the sense of being *voluntary* transgressors.

I deem it proper to bestow a few moments' attention on this view of our subject; not so much for the sake of the theory itself, which seems not to have been hitherto regarded with much approbation, and is, as it seems to me, in but little danger of becoming popular, as on account of the principles concerned with this subject, which have an important bearing on our general topic.

We will endeavour to examine this matter, then, by proposing a few definitive questions, and giving, so far as we can, an answer to them.

I. *Have infants any proper KNOWLEDGE of the divine law, i. e. such a knowledge as enables them to distinguish between MORAL good and MORAL evil?*

In order duly to answer this question, it will be necessary, first of all, to define what we mean by *infants*. In Greek, the word *βρέφος*, usually rendered *infant*, means either *a child unborn*, or *a child recently born*, i. e. a suckling. In English, the word *infant* has the same meaning, and corresponds well with the Greek *βρέφος*. The word, in both languages, designates in all cases, when literally interpreted, a child before it comes to such a state as to exercise in any perceptible manner its intellectual and rational faculties.

I admit now, very readily, that it is impossible for men to decide exactly at what point infancy (in the sense now defined) ceases, and youth or childhood begins. But the Searcher of hearts does know; and it is for him to determine, and easy for him to determine, when moral responsibility commences.

Our present object, then, is not at all to aim at deciding exactly *when* inability to know the difference between good and evil *ceases*, but to inquire, whether there ever is such an inability, at the commencement of our existence. This inquiry seems to lie within a short compass. I shall make no appeal to our own experience, observation, or consciousness in regard

to a matter of this kind, for we might be easily misled by these in a case so peculiar as the present and so much removed from the actual sphere of observation ; but I will appeal simply to declarations of the divine word, which cannot be lawfully set aside in order to make out positions of our own in regard to any speculative theology.

In Is. 7: 14—16 the prophet declares, that ‘ a child shall be born of a virgin, whose name shall be called *Immanuel*, and that he shall eat butter and honey *until he shall know* (יָדָעַתִּי) *to refuse the evil and choose the good.*’ Here then the act of eating butter and honey is specifically designated, as a thing that would take place *some time before* this child could know the distinction between good and evil. This is rendered quite certain by the verse which follows: “ For *before* the child shall know to refuse the evil and choose the good, the land shall be forsaken [i. e. the country of the Syrian and of the Samaritan kings] before whose two kings thou dost now shudder.” [I translate the passage according to the proper meaning of the Hebrew.]

Here then is a case so plain and palpable, that it does not seem to admit of being explained away. If by the child *Immanuel* be meant here, a child which was actually born, at that period, of a virgin, and who was the designed type of a future and spiritual Immanuel, it is plain that there was a period, even after birth, and while he could eat butter and honey, during which he could not distinguish between good and evil. Now as the divine law is *good*, and what it forbids is *evil*, so it follows, that this child did not during such a period have any knowledge of the divine law, as the arbiter of good and evil. But again ; if by the child *Immanuel* be here meant only Jesus our Saviour, to be born of a virgin at a future period, then is the passage more to our purpose still ; for if the child Jesus could not, in his infancy, distinguish between good and evil, how is it possible that other children, so much inferior to him in all respects, can rationally be supposed to be capable of such knowledge ?

Is it kind and candid, now, to pour down—as some have done on this view of the subject which is certainly a simple and *scriptural* one—a shower of exclamation points, or to pass over it in deep and guarded silence, so as to make one’s readers lose sight of it, if this can be done ? There are readers, we ought always to remember, who will detect every artifice of this sort ; and then, if we have erected our building in such a

way, what can we rationally expect, but that it will be thrown down, and that we shall be obliged to recommence our work by endeavouring to rear up another?

In perfect consonance with this view of Isaiah respecting the infantile state of man, is the view which Moses gives in Deut. 1: 39. He is speaking to the Hebrews respecting God's promise in regard to the land of Canaan, when he says: "Moreover your little ones which ye said should be a prey, and your children which in that day *had no knowledge between good and evil*, they shall go in thither . . . and possess it [the land]."

By *little ones* here are designated those whom we should usually name *children*, and by those "who had no knowledge between good and evil," are meant *infants*, in the sense above explained. Moses then agrees fully in opinion with Isaiah, as it respects the state or condition of human beings at such an early period of their existence.

The divine Being, in reproving Jonah for his vexation because Nineveh had not been destroyed, says: "And should I not spare Nineveh . . . wherein are more than six score thousand persons, *who cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand?*" Jonah 4: 11. The sentiment here is obviously the same, for substance, as in the preceding quotations, although the form of expression is a little varied.

Thus much for the scriptural view of the *knowledge* which infants possess. But do the Scriptures, which thus plainly and positively declare the want of power at such an early age to discern between good and evil, also inform us whether infants are still considered as *transgressors*? This brings us to another question:

II. *Are infants declared to be transgressors, by the divine word?*

I say *transgressors*, because I have now to do with those who admit that all sin is *transgression*.

Paul seems to have decided this question; at any rate he has decided it in regard to children *before their birth*. In Rom. ix. he discusses the difficult, and to some offensive, subject of "the election of grace," i. e. of "the purpose of God according to election." In reference to this comes up the subject of a preference given to Jacob, when he and Esau struggled in the womb of Rebecca, Gen. 25: 21. Paul says in respect to this, that the preference given to Jacob did not rest on any merit of his, or on anything good in him and evil in Esau, but that God's pur-



pose in this case was wholly independent of personal merit or demerit, either actually existing or even foreseen, in these two children: "For the children being not yet born, *neither having done any good or evil*, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, etc."

If now, in order to avoid the force of this declaration, it should be said, that the essence of Paul's affirmation has respect to *outward* acts of good or evil, and not to internal sin; then the answer is easy. On this ground the apostle's *reasoning* would be nugatory. His position is, that the distinction made in the case before us was not made on the ground of any merit or demerit of any kind in the children, but wholly of God's own elective purpose. Now if both the children, after all, were actual *sinner*s, (and those with whom we now have to do maintain that they were such), then of course there did exist *demerit* in the case, at all adventures. But the apostle, by the very ground of his reasoning, assumes it to be a case of neither merit nor demerit, and therefore the divine decision was grounded entirely on reasons within the mind itself of the divine Being. Surely, if the position of those whom we are now opposing is correct, the sin of an infant, no matter how early it is, is a ground of *demerit*, as really and truly as a sin at any other period; for by their own statement, it is to be regarded as the transgression of a known law. Yet the apostle, from the simple fact that the children were not born, considers it as self-evident that they had *not* done any good or evil. We have seen a sufficient reason for such a view of the subject, in the declarations of Moses and Isaiah, viz., that infants "do not know to choose the good and refuse the evil."

I cannot resist the feeling that these considerations are decisive, in respect to the matter now under examination; and therefore, that those, who profess to believe in the essentially voluntary and active nature of sin, cannot find support for their views respecting the actual sin of infants. I am fully aware of the texts to which they appeal; but these appeals do not convince my mind of the correctness of their position. I can advert, however, only to some of the leading texts here, with merely a word upon them as we pass them in review.

"Thou wast called a transgressor from the womb," Is. 48: 8. "The wicked are estranged from the womb," Ps. 58: 3. "Behold I was shapen in iniquity, and in sin did my mother conceive me," Ps. 51: 5.

I put these together, because they are all of the same general tenor. The two first, it is said, affirm that men are *transgressors* from the time that they are born; the third, that they are *sinners* even from the moment of their conception.

If this be a fair and legitimate exegesis, then it can prove, at most, only that infants are to be called sinners in such a sense as does not imply a knowledge of sin, or any power to distinguish between good and evil; for Moses and Isaiah, not to mention Jonah, have expressly decided that infants have no such power. These texts, moreover, can prove infants to be sinners only in some sense which differs from that of *doing* evil; for Paul expressly declares that infants, before their birth, do neither good nor evil. If now they are really sinners not only from the womb, but even from the moment of conception, and all the above expressions are to be *literally* understood, then their sin must be such a sin as Turretin and Edwards have pleaded for, i. e. one which is antecedent to all thought, desire, voluntary affection, or action; one which is connate and innate; yea, one which constitutes a part of the very elements of our being as modified since the fall of our first parents. In no other sense can we predicate an assertion of *sin* in these passages, without interpreting them so as to contradict other plain and positive declarations of the Scriptures.

In my own apprehension, it would be as correct to say, that we must interpret the Scriptures *literally*, when they speak of the hands, feet, eyes, mouth, arm, sword, shield, buckler, bow, arrows, etc., of the Almighty, as to say that we must interpret the texts before us in a *literal* manner. Who does not see, or rather, who can refuse to see, that they are animated expressions, designed to characterize with intensity the great and long-continued wickedness of the individuals to whom they are applicable, wickedness even from the earliest period of their being when they were susceptible of sin? Must I, when the prophet Isaiah says: "Behold, the Lord maketh the earth empty . . . and turneth it upside down;" or when the Psalmist says: "He [Jehovah] did fly, yea, he did fly upon the wings of the wind;" or when he says again: "The mountains skipped like rams, the little hills like lambs," or once more when he says: "Let the floods clap their hands, let the hills exult together;"—must I find a *literal* meaning for all this? Or was it intense feeling in the poet or prophet, which gave birth to such language, and which is to be interpreted merely

as the language of intense feeling? There is no difficulty in deciding the case as to the passages just now cited, because no controverted speculative dogma in theology is dependent on the decision. But should not the other cases above be decided on the simple ground of hermeneutical principles also, and not on the ground of assumed theory in theology? Now it is a plain and acknowledged principle in hermeneutics, that, in all cases where there is an apparent disagreement between the subject and predicate when *literally* interpreted, some mode of interpretation different from the literal one should be adopted. Whenever now the want of agreement between the subject and predicate is a thing which is evident from the common sense and experience of men, or evident from what is taught plainly and intelligibly in other parts of the Scriptures, in either case we abandon the literal interpretation. But in the case before us, the spontaneous feeling of all men, independently of controversial views, is against supposing the possibility of *actual* sin in the womb, or immediately after birth; and the Scriptures expressly deny this. How then can we persevere in such an interpretation, consistently with the laws of hermeneutics? Here is a double array against proceeding in such a course.

Let us look, moreover, for a moment, at the subject in another attitude. "Thou wast called a transgressor from the womb," (supposing *thou wast called* is equivalent in sense to *thou wast*), and "the wicked are estranged from the womb," it will be admitted by all, are expressions of substantially the same import. Now it so happens, that the last expression is accompanied by a parallel clause or *στίχος*, in Ps. 58: 3, which enables us at once to judge what laws of interpretation in this case are to guide us: "The wicked are estranged from the womb; they go astray as soon as they are born, *speaking lies*." What our translators have rendered, *as soon as they are born*, is expressed by *מִבֶּטֶן* in the original, i. e. *from the womb*. Now it is just as true, no doubt, that the wicked *speaking lies* from the womb, as that they are *transgressors* from the womb; both stand or fall together. No commentary, therefore, on the latter expression is needed.

To produce now, in grave theological discussion, the first half only of Ps. 58: 3, in order to establish native depravity, and to withhold the other half, so that the unwary reader may not bring it into view, when his attention is called to the reasoning in regard to the first half of the passage—cannot surely be considered as either candid or magnanimous in argument.

The passage from Ps. 51: 5, by which it is proposed to establish the position, that men are actual sinners before their birth, must, if so interpreted, be a direct contradiction of what Paul affirms in Rom. 9: 11. It stands, of course, on the same general ground as the preceding passages, and must be interpreted in the same way. But if it be urged upon us, as it has been, that we must interpret this *literally*; then we must examine the exact tenor of the language in the original, and see what this literal meaning is.

The original runs thus: "Behold in iniquity הוֹלֵלֵתִי, *I was brought forth*; not *I was shapen*, which would be נוֹצְרֵתִי or נִעֲשִׂיתִי. The verb הוֹלֵלֵתִי, when applied to what was done by the agency of the mother, as it clearly is in the present case, can mean nothing more nor less than *I was brought forth*.

But what says the other part of the verse? "And in sin my mother רִחַמְתָּנִי, literally *warmed me*, (from רָחַם, *incaluit*, in Piel), i. e. communicated, so to speak, brooding warmth to my nascent substance.

Is it now so clear as some suppose, that the declarations of this passage, when strictly taken, can be applied only as characterizing the sin of David *before* his birth? Above all, with what consistency can this text be adduced for such a purpose, by any one who avows (as some have done) that *mankind have no souls previously to birth*? Do men then commit sin before they have a soul? But not to dwell on this; is the passage so clear, that no doubts can be reasonably entertained about its real import? It has not always been so considered. The Jewish commentators, it is well known, have been inclined to regard the *mother* in this case, as being charged with sin; either, as they allege, because of illicit intercourse, or of intercourse at a forbidden time. On the other hand, Clement of Alexandria, Theodoret, and Chrysostom, refer the word *mother* here to Eve, and think that the whole passage has reference only to the fact, that Eve did not conceive offspring until after the fall of our first parents. I do not mention these interpretations because I believe them to be correct; but because there are some, who seem to express themselves in relation to this passage as if no interpretation could once be imagined by any rational man, but such an one as they themselves are accustomed to make. It may be well for such to inquire, whether the case is indeed so perfectly plain, after all, as they imagine and affirm it to be.



My own belief however is, that David meant to apply the passage to *himself*, and to say thereby, that from the earliest period of his existence in which he could be a sinner, he was one. This is all that we can understand by it; unless indeed it refers not to *actual*, but to what is called *original* sin, i. e. something *antecedent* to and separate from all voluntary affection or action. It will be seen, in the sequel, that I am far removed from denying the substance of what is aimed at by asserting that we are sinners in such a sense. My present difficulty is not with the matter of simple historical *fact*, but with the *name* which is given to it, and with the manner in which it is considered and treated by some who take what they think to be a middle ground. When I have discussed so much of their views as the present occasion requires, I shall then come to the consideration of what is called original sin, imputed and inherent.

But since I have already said sufficient, as I would hope, to show reason why I cannot accede to the opinion of those who hold, that from the earliest stage of our being we are *voluntary transgressors* of the divine law, we may now dismiss this topic. In my examination of this opinion, however, and of the texts of Scripture alleged in support of it, I have said some things which should be adverted to, when we come to a subsequent part of these remarks and examine some of the positions of those, who maintain that there are two kinds of sin entirely diverse in their nature, the one wholly *active*, the other wholly *passive*. After having once endeavoured to give an explanation of several texts often appealed to by theologians of this class, I shall not deem it necessary again to repeat what I have already said, but shall merely advertise the reader that he may cast his eye again on some of the preceding remarks, in order to find a discussion of some texts which may seem to be wanting in the sequel.

Let us come, then, in the next place, to the examination of the texts most frequently alleged in support of the position, that we are charged by the Scriptures with a *sin* which is called *original*, and which is both inherent and imputed.

The simple question is: Whether the Scriptures entitle us to make such charges, or in other words, give such a view of sin?

Gen. 6: 5 is often quoted for this purpose: "Every imagination of the thoughts of man's heart is only evil continually." On this text I remark, in the first place, that it is spoken of the *antediluvians*, who were so wicked that God was moved to

drown the world on their account. Then, secondly, it is something essentially of an *active* nature which is here characterized as sin ; it is פֶּל־יָצָר, *every imagination, every fiction, formation* of the thoughts of men, which is wicked. This, of course, exempts the case from the category of *original* sin ; which precedes all voluntary thought, desire, or affection ; and here we might therefore rest the whole matter.

But it is said, that the passage applies to *all* men in the sense of charging original sin upon them, and is not designed merely for the antediluvians, because in Gen. 8 : 21 it is declared, as a universal truth, that “the imagination of man’s heart is evil from his youth.” But if the first passage in Gen. 6: 5 applies in its full force to all men, as a charge of original sin at all times and in all places, then of course there was, and always had been ever since the fall of man, and is now, just the same, or just as much, reason for bringing the flood upon the earth that there was in the time of Noah. Why then did it not come sooner ? Or why not since ? And besides this ; what means *the imagination being evil from youth* ? How can we force the word *youth* to designate merely the earliest period of infancy ? What means *the wife of thy youth* ? Prov. 5: 18. Mal. 2 : 14. What means *the children of thy youth* ? Ps. 127 : 4. Do men take wives and beget children in *infancy* ?

Appeals then to such passages of Scriptures as these, are short-sighted appeals in the way of argument to prove native or infantile sin ; for beyond all reasonable doubt such assertions cannot be made precisely and definitely to designate the earliest period of infancy.

Another class of texts however are appealed to with more confidence. They are such as follows : “That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the spirit is spirit,” John 3: 6. “And were by nature the children of wrath, even as others,” Eph. 3: 2. Here, it is said, are unequivocal declarations that *by nature* we are *sinners*, and that we are born such.

If by such an assertion any one means, that we are sinners *ab origine* in the sense of committing *actual* sin ; then I must reply, that from the real state of the case, and because of the express declarations of Scripture elsewhere in relation to this subject, this position is inadmissible ; as we have already seen. But if it be said, that the so-called *original* sin is asserted here, there may be some reason for doubt even as to this. I do not mean to say that I doubt of the fact, whether the thing usually

aimed at by asserting the doctrine of original sin, is something which is recognized by the Scriptures, (for this I do not doubt); but my doubt is, whether either the Saviour or Paul, in the present case, had the sentiment in question in their minds when they made the declarations before us. It seems to me to be a plain and obvious construction of the language employed in both cases, which interprets it as designating *the unregenerate or natural state or condition of man, in distinction from a regenerate one*. In order to convince Nicodemus of the necessity of a new birth, the Saviour declares, that men in the condition in which they are by physical birth and the nature connected with it, are carnal; i. e. before regeneration they do nothing which is holy and acceptable to God. And such is precisely the meaning of Paul, in saying that *by nature we are the children of wrath*, i. e. in our natural state or condition we are exposed to divine wrath, and have no claim to the merit of any deeds which are holy or virtuous.

Let those who press hardly here upon the words *by nature*, beware well of the consequences exegetical and logical of so doing. Paul, in Rom. 2: 14, speaks of "the heathen who have no law, as doing *by nature* the things contained in the law." What sort of a *nature* is it, then, which leads the heathen to *obey* the law? Might not a Pelagian take his stand here, and shew from this text, with a logic as good at least as that of the opposing party, that our nature would of itself always lead us to do right? Just as well, we are forced to concede, as one can quote Eph. 2: 3, in order to prove that our nature is itself a sin.

After all, the Pelagian, who should take such a stand, would have no solid ground for his position. The apostle, in Rom. 2: 14, means to say merely, that the heathen in a state of nature, i. e. unenlightened by revelation, may do the things which revelation demands. To suppose more than this, would be to suppose something which Paul did not mean to say. And so in the other case (Eph. 2: 3), the apostle means to say, that in our natural, i. e. our unregenerate state, we are children of wrath, i. e. exposed to divine wrath. Speculation about the time when, or the manner in which, sin commences or exists, plainly did not constitute any part of his design, when he wrote the sentences in question.

The advocates for *native* sin do not seem to me to be sufficiently aware, that with the very same principles of interpreta-

tion which they defend and carry into practice, conclusions might be made out from the Scriptures exceedingly diverse from those which they undertake to establish, or would be willing to admit. As this is a highly important consideration; I must beg permission to illustrate the matter by a few examples from the Scriptures.

One passage has already been cited: When the Gentiles (or heathen) who have no law, do *by nature* the things contained in the law, Rom. 2: 14. I ask again: Might not a Pelagian here say, that the apostle teaches us, that men are by nature inclined to *obey* the divine law? It would at least be an interpretation equally sound with that which makes him say, in another place, that our nature itself is sin.

Turretin, Edwards, and most of those who hold the same views as theirs respecting native sin, appeal to a passage in Job 14: 4 in order to confirm their sentiment,—which runs thus: “Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?” The passage is doubtless a common proverb; and in the connection in which it stands, it has reference merely to the frail, suffering, and dying state of man; and the meaning of the patriarch is: ‘How can frail and dying man produce an offspring which is not also frail and dying?’ Apart then from the *uncritical* proceeding of citing passages uttered by disputants in the book of Job as proof-passages of Scripture doctrine, it is enough to say, that the meaning of this quotation shows it to be clearly irrelevant to the subject before us. I should not have introduced it, therefore, had it not been so often cited as a proof, and had I not designed the mention of it as an introduction to saying, that if we are allowed to make the appeal to the same authority (the book of Job) in another passage, we may prove much more than those who appeal to the text just cited, would be willing to allow. Let us see how easily this may be done.

Job, in the earnest self-defence which he makes in chap. xxxi., among other things says: “*From my youth*, he [the orphan] was brought up with me as a father; and I have guided her [the widow] *from my mother’s womb*,” v. 18. Could not a Pelagian, now, as well take his stand here, and maintain the *native* benevolence of men, and their love of their neighbour even from the womb, as other theologians can take their stand on Job 14: 4, or on Ps. 51: 5, and maintain connate and innate sin from these? I see not what there is to hinder him, if such grounds of interpretation should be allowed to him as his oppo-



nents assume ; and why should they not allow him the same liberty which they themselves take ?

I do not, indeed, for myself believe that in either instance any thing more is or can be meant, than that in the one case, Job very early began his course of beneficence, and in the other David very early began his course of sin. What proves more than this, proves too much ; and so it either proves nothing, or else it makes the Bible to contradict itself. We can admit neither of these last positions.

Of course it is not my object, in a brief essay like this, to cite and examine all the texts of Scripture to which appeal has at any time been made, in order to establish the doctrine of original sin. But I have selected those on which the greatest reliance has been placed ; and if these do not establish the point in question, candid men will hardly contend that other texts cited for this purpose will constitute an adequate proof of the position assumed.

Let us look now, for a moment, at a different class of texts from any yet cited, and see what bearing they may have on the topic under discussion.

Apart from all controversial feeling, what shall we say to such texts as these : "Be not children in understanding ; howbeit, *in malice be ye children*," 1 Cor. 14: 20 ? In the original, *ἐν κακίᾳ* is the expression corresponding to the words *in malice*. The apostle then seems plainly and beyond reasonable question to assume here, that children have not *κακία*. By *children* he here means of course *little children* ; for such is the proper meaning of the word *παιδία* which he employs.

Again : "Verily I say unto you, except ye be converted and *become as little children*, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven," Matt. 18: 3. What more or less can this mean than the following : 'If ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall enter into the kingdom of heaven ?'

Again : "Suffer little children to come unto me, *for of such is the kingdom of heaven*," Matt. 19: 14. "Jesus . . . taking a little child, placed him near to himself, and said to them [his disciples] : Whosoever shall receive this little child in my name, receiveth me ; and whosoever receiveth me, receiveth him that sent me," Luke 9: 47, 48.

Looking away now from all polemic views in any direction, what is fairly and honestly to be considered as the meaning of these repeated declarations ? I do not ask, how we may, with

the most ingenuity, cover up, keep out of sight, or explain away the meaning; but how we shall fairly, fully, honestly, and impartially develope it? I do not believe, for the nature of the case does not permit me to believe, that the Saviour here refers to little children as exemplars of positive holiness, humility, and benevolence; but that he refers to them as examples of persons in whom all the wicked passions are yet quiet, inactive, unexerted, undeveloped, and who therefore commit no *actual* or *active* sin, must be true, unless the comparison which he employs is destitute of all force.

That the Saviour here takes the same view of little children, which is every day spontaneously taken by us when we do not think of polemics in theology, and so call them *innocent*, *harmless*, etc., lies upon the very face of the language which he employs. What court of justice or equity on the face of all the earth, from the beginning of the world down to the present day, what parent, what guardian of little children, ever thought of taxing them with crime, or of alleging real *sin* as a matter with which they stood chargeable?

Once more, and then I shall have done with this part of my topic. After our Saviour had said: "Whoso shall receive such little child in my name, receiveth me" (Matt. 18: 5), he cautions his disciples against despising or overlooking little children, and then adds: "I say unto you, their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven," Matt. 18: 10; in other words: 'These children stand high in the estimation of my Father in heaven, for he appoints his presence-angels, i. e. angels of the highest order, to be their guardians.'

With such declarations as these in view, how can we characterize children as being *sinner*s, in any sense which comports with Vitranga's definition of sin? Surely we cannot do this with any consistency; and all such as believe that sin consists only in voluntary transgression of a known law by a rational, moral, and free agent, cannot therefore maintain, either on scriptural grounds or on those of reason, that infants (in the sense above defined) are sinners.

But the advocates of original sin, with whom we are now concerned, and who stand on the ground of Turretin, or on that of Edwards, (there is no inconsiderable discrepancy between some of the views of these two theologians), take a position much less objectionable, in some respects, and certainly much more consonant with Scripture and with facts. I do not speak now of

extremists, who make no difference between original and actual sin, either as to guilt or punishment; if indeed there be any who do really believe in such a doctrine. I should have doubted once, whether such persons could be found; but I have been compelled to believe it. Yet it is very certain that their views differ exceedingly from those of Turretin. With him, original inherent sin is a part of our very nature, antecedent to all thought, volition, assertion, or action. It is a *vitiositas*, not a *peccatum* nor even a *vitium* in the sense which Vitringa gives to this word, viz. *sinful habitude* of mind.

Will the advocates of original sin now do me the justice to believe, (I mean of course the moderate and sober advocates of this doctrine), that I am, as I have already intimated more than once, so far from calling in question the main *facts* at which I understand them to aim in the expression of their opinions, that I most fully accord in the belief of them? It is principally to their *terminology*, and to the consequences which some of them deduce from the doctrine of what they call original sin, that I object.

I will still further explain myself as briefly as possible. I regard such texts as the following, viz. "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit," and "By nature we are children of wrath;" as deciding the point that men, while in an unregenerate state, have no holiness and never do any thing morally and spiritually acceptable to God. I do believe that infants, if saved, (their salvation in common with most who hold the old form of the doctrine of original sin I admit as probable), are not, and cannot be, saved on the ground of any holiness or positive righteousness of their own. They must be regenerated, they must be renewed, they must be sanctified, i. e. rendered positively holy, or rather, brought by the influences of the divine Spirit to such a state that they will develope affections and exercises positively holy; for "without holiness no man shall see the Lord." It is essential to the happiness of heaven, that those who enjoy it should be *positively* holy; and therefore infants, as well as others, must be regenerated in order to enjoy it.

But this does not prove, that infants are *actually moral agents* in the present world, before they arrive at a state in which they are able to distinguish between moral good and evil. An acorn is not an oak-tree; nor even a young scion a tree. There is that within an infant, which, at the proper period of develop-

ment, will constitute him a free and moral agent, and he will then become an actual sinner. So there is that in the acorn, which will in due time come to be an oak-tree and oak-timber. But it is neither tree nor timber while it is an acorn.

Paul says, in so many words, of children before their birth, that "they do neither good nor evil." I wish for no argument beyond his authority to settle this point; although I might appeal to the first elements of moral consciousness and judgment, in every human being whom *system* has not wrought upon, in defence and support of such a principle.

Suppose then that infants die in this state; or suppose they die at any period before they become capable of distinguishing between good and evil; what is their condition to be in a future world? Pelagius said, that they were, while very young, like to Adam in his original state of innocence. I am no Pelagian; I do not believe at all in this position. I think it to be radically and fundamentally erroneous. Whatever susceptibility of impression from objects of sinful enticement Adam may have had in his original state, it is manifest that infants have this susceptibility, (although in a *nascent* and yet *unmatured* state), in a far greater degree than Adam. In Adam the virtuous susceptibilities, (if I may so speak in order to characterize susceptibilities concerned in inclining him to virtuous action), were beyond all question strongly predominant. They remained so until his fall. But in infants now, the case is wholly reversed. The dominant susceptibilities are those which lead to sin; so dominant, that from the moment a child becomes capable of moral action, he begins to sin; and he will continue to do so until he becomes regenerated or sanctified by the Spirit of God. The views of Pelagius, then, in respect to this matter, were as far from mine and opposite to them, as the nature of the case renders it possible.

But I return to the question: On the supposition that infants are saved, on what ground must it be? I have already answered this question in part. Not on the ground of holiness, righteousness, moral purity, or the not having committed any actual sin. This last circumstance may, indeed, be a reason why God should exercise his mercy toward them in a special manner; but then mere innocence, i. e. merely not having sinned, does not of itself qualify any one for the happiness of heaven. If so, then the brute animals, yea the inanimate objects of nature, might be qualified for celestial happiness; for these have committed no sin.



Something *positive* then is to be done for children, in order to make them happy in heaven. They must have some development of their faculties, as human beings ; they must come in some way to know the difference between good and evil ; they must come to a state in which voluntary and holy affections and desires will be put forth ; they must come to a state of conscious and actual obedience to the great law of love. The *susceptibilities* of their native state, which in their development here, i. e. in our present world, would have certainly led them to sin, and only to sin, so far as moral actions were concerned—these susceptibilities will, as a matter of course, be greatly diminished when they lay aside a carnal body and quit a world full of excitement and allurements to sin. But still, there seems to be something more needed, in their case, than such a change. The soul itself, in our fallen state, possesses a susceptibility of being enticed to sin in a measure altogether predominant ; so that all the motives to virtue are actually insufficient to overcome the force of enticements to sin, when human nature attains its maturer development, and remains still unregenerate. This germ in our very nature, (for such I believe it to be, so that I have no dispute here with Turretin or those who harmonize with him), is to be in some way, through the grace of the Holy Spirit, so regulated, changed, modified, or eradicated even (if it must be so), that the development of the infant in the world of glory will be one of positive obedience and perfect holiness.

With what justice then can it be said by objectors, as it has often been said, not without some shew of exultation : “ How then can infants be saved by Christ, if they are not *sinners* ? He is the Saviour of *sinners*, and of such only.”

But who may not see, after a little consideration, that this question, if it has any force in it, strikes upon Paul as hardly as upon those who agree in opinion with me ? Paul says, that children *do neither good nor evil* before they are born. Are infants then, who die before birth, saved or lost ? Or are we to believe that ἄπαξ λεγόμενον in theology, not long since sent forth into the world, which maintains that infants before birth have no souls, and asks, with apparent confidence : “ Who ever heard that infants had souls before they were born ? ”

Even a modicum of theological knowledge might have reversed the question, and put it in this shape : Who ever heard that infants had *not* souls, before they were born ? Did the

author of such a question ever read the common-law definition of *murder*, viz., ‘destroying, with malice prepense, the life of a *reasonable* being;’ and did he not know that the laws of all civilized countries punish as murder the malicious destruction of an infant’s life, before its birth? Are infants, then, *reasonable* beings before they have souls? Yet he asks, as though no answer could be given to a question so plain, except the one which he would give: “Who ever heard that infants have souls before their birth?” And at the same time, but a few pages from this, the same author strenuously contends that David was a sinner *before* he was born, yea from the first moment of his *conception*, and appeals to Ps. 51: 5 in support of such a sentiment. David then was a *sinner*, before he had a *soul*!!

But I am not, and choose not to be, on polemic ground; I return therefore to our subject.

*Is Christ the Saviour of infants?* If they are saved, (which I believe to be matter of fact, although I cannot prove it), beyond all reasonable doubt he is their Saviour. This is my answer. But in what sense are they saved? In the sense that he has made atonement for their *actual* sins? Certainly not, in case they die before they have committed, or could commit, such sins. What then remains for him to accomplish? A great work; yea, one which none but he who can send his Spirit and bestow his grace, can perform. Infants are to be saved from the direful effects of the fall of Adam. Ever since that fall, their nature is degraded in some highly important respects. In Adam, before his fall, the whole bent of his propensities, or to speak more correctly, the predominant tendency of every susceptibility to receive impressions adapted to excite him to action of any kind, was altogether in favour of the good. This was the proper or moral diathesis of his nature. In infants, born since the fall, the predominant tendency of these susceptibilities is reversed, and so much reversed, that as soon as they come to moral agency, the doing of evil will always take place in regard to every moral action; and this will continue until divine grace interposes.

From this wretched and fearful state they are to be delivered, if they are ever saved at all, by divine grace. *Grace* it must be that saves them; for grace is *unmerited favor*; and clear it is that infants do nothing, I might say, can do nothing, to *merit* the divine favour. Christ then has wrought out their redemption from this wretched, and in itself helpless, condition. He saves them from these terrible consequences of sin. It is he who has

purchased their redemption; and it is he, who sends his Spirit to sanctify them. Sanctification infants need; they have no actual holiness in them, and no germ which when developed will actually produce it. But positive holiness they must have, before they can see the Lord, i. e. be fitted for the employments and happiness of heaven.

I would hope, then, that views such as these may serve to satisfy thinking men, that those who reason as Vitranga does respecting the nature of sin itself, are not compelled in any measure to renounce the doctrine, that Christ is the Saviour of infants, in case they are saved. Indeed, to urge the question above stated in such a manner as has been done, with so much confidence, and with such a seeming conviction that it contains within itself a prostrating argument against those who believe with Vitranga in respect to the nature of sin, only shews how eager a disputant may be to lay hold of any sort of weapon for attack, even when the very hand that seizes it is wounded so as to be disabled. Consider, for a moment, whither such reasoning about infants may lead us. Christ says: "He that believeth, shall be saved; and *he that believeth not, shall be damned.*" Now, in the spirit of the preceding questions, let me ask: Do infants *believe*? Can they believe? Belief is cordial assent to truth which has been proposed to the mind and comprehended by it. Has the proposition of gospel truth been made to infant minds, and have they first understood it, and then assented to it? To ask these questions—is to answer them in the *negative*. Then how can infants be saved? Can any be saved who do *not* believe?

What answer now would a reasonable man make to an argument like this, seemingly built altogether on a scriptural basis? An easy answer he may make, I would say. He has only to suggest, that a declaration like that in question can never be fairly and properly interpreted as extending to any case, excepting to the case of those who are physiologically and morally capable of believing. This is answer enough. It is well grounded in the very nature of reasonable requisition or legislation. Suppose a nation is invaded by a foreign and cruel enemy, and is in great danger. In this exigency the government call on *all the male population* between the age of twenty and forty years to enrol themselves as soldiers, and to come forth to the defence of the nation. Does this call oblige the sick, the lame, the halt, the blind, the maniac, and the *non compos mentis*, to go out to battle?

Let us apply these rational principles now to the other case. Does Christ make atonement for the *actual* sin of infants? No. And why not? For the simple reason that they have committed none; and atonement for a nonentity is impossible. When Christ is said to be the Saviour of sinners, I grant that the plain meaning of course is, of such as are actual sinners. But may not his grace be extended beyond the line of *actual* sin, and may he not in mercy sanctify and save those who have no holiness, and who, in a natural state of development, would become actual sinners? He may; and he is as truly their Saviour in such a case, as he is the Saviour of him "who was the chief of sinners," although not in every respect in the same sense. But why not? Because the condition of the saved in the two cases is so unlike, that the salvation adapted to it cannot (so to speak) be in all respects precisely the same. Neither is it in any two cases precisely the same, unless it can be made out that the amount of guilt, and the amount of carnal affections to be subdued, is precisely the same. Enough that all the help or salvation which is needed, is granted or bestowed; enough that all this is of grace, for it is unmerited and undeserved; enough that no infant, in its natural state, is prepared for the happiness of heaven. His salvation—his future actual holiness, must be all of grace.

My apology for dwelling so long on this subject is, first, its difficulty; but more especially, in the second place, the fact that the views of those who adopt such sentiments respecting sin as Vitringa defends, have been so often misunderstood, and sometimes greatly misrepresented.

But there are some other aspects of the matter before us, which we ought to contemplate before we lay it aside. I will develop them as briefly as I can.

It is asked: Whether, with such views of the nature of sin as Vitringa has developed, we can regard infants as sinners in *any* sense?

The answer is easy: Not as sinners, in the sense that they have voluntarily transgressed a known law of God, and this as rational, moral, free agents. The advocates of original sin concede this, by the very definition which they give to it; for they tell us, that it is a sinfulness of nature itself, antecedent to all thought, voluntary affection, desire, or action. But after all, do they really differ from the views which I have already expressed? They do not—except in the special use of some particular words, and in some deductions made from such a use.



Is it *things* that separate us, then, or is it *diction, costume*, the manner of announcing or discussing our views? The latter, in the main, beyond all question. Let me here briefly state my creed on this point, and we shall then see whether I have not said this with good reason.

I believe that the susceptibility of impression from sinful and enticing objects, belongs to the *tout ensemble* of our nature; not to the body exclusively, nor to the soul exclusively, but from their essential and intimate and wonderful connection, to the *tout ensemble* of both, i. e. to man. I believe this susceptibility is innate, connate, original, natural, native, or whatever else one may please to call it by way of thus characterizing it; I believe that it commences with our very being, in a sense like to that in which an oak-tree commences with the acorn. I believe this susceptibility to be such, that just as soon as there is growth and maturity enough for development, it will develop itself in persuading or influencing men—all men—to sin. I believe this to be the natural state of *fallen* man; while, in his original state before the fall, the predominant tendency of his susceptibilities was just the reverse of what it now is.

Now what more or less than this does the sober and discreet advocate of the doctrine of original sin contend for? Nothing as to matter of fact; for he makes a wide difference between *original* and *actual* sin, and a difference of the same nature (although not called by the same names) that I do. I am as strong an advocate for *native* depravity, in the sense that I have now explained, as he is, or as he can be. Nor would I desert the ground in this case of its being connate and innate, and make it only *supervenient*, as Turretin and Edwards have both done, as soon as they come to account for it how the soul, being made by God, could become corrupt when united to the body. It would be easy to show, if time permitted, that they have in fact both abandoned the ground here of *innate* and *connate* depravity, such as is *contemporaneous with our being*, and thus been inconsistent with themselves. Not speculating, however, as they have both done about the formation of the soul, I see no good reason for abandoning the ground, that our susceptibilities of impression from enticing and evil objects or things, either external or internal, are coëtaneous with the point of our being as human existences, let that point be when it may. Not that these susceptibilities are complete at first, or developed at the outset, any more than that reason, intelligence, or a power of distinguishing good and evil, are developed at the outset

of our existence. But the susceptibilities in question are *nascent* with our nascent being; they grow with our growth, they strengthen with our strength; and since the fall, the balance of them is on the wrong side; and this is the specific thing, in which I suppose Adam, by his transgression, to have made or constituted all men sinners. This sin occasioned a degradation of his original state, and that degradation, the natural or rather the appointed consequence of the evil of sin, has come down upon all his posterity.

Do the advocates of original sin go further than this? Setting the subject of the *imputation* of Adam's sin out of the account, I believe they do not, except, as I have more than once said, in regard to certain names and deductions made from them. I can truly say, that if I am not a believer in the native, original depravity of man, in the only sense in which this is an intelligible proposition, then there is not one in our land.

Man, in his native state, has no holiness which can fit him for heaven; man, in his native state and from the origin of his being, has the germ of nascent susceptibilities of impression by objects that entice to sin; and these will with certainty lead him to sin, as soon as he is capable of knowing a divine law and of voluntarily disobeying it.

This is at least far enough, I suppose, from Pelagianism. However, I have no anxiety to defend myself as to any charge of this nature. My only object is, to avow and explain my sentiments.

Many of our Brethren call the native state of man *sinful*, and speak familiarly of *original sin*. Now if what they mean is this, viz., that man's native state is such, that it will certainly lead to actual sin, and lead to nothing but sin in all his moral acts until he is renewed, then there is no difference between my views and theirs, as to any thing which is important. In such a sense I acknowledge and fully believe, that man has a native disposition, taste, or inclination to sin, or whatever else one may please to call it. But I do not believe in the expediency or propriety of making *two sorts of sin*, or even *three*, viz., imputed sin, inherent sin, and actual sin. *Sin is a transgression of the law*. It is better to accept this definition and to abide by it. But if we prefer to say, that sinful disposition, taste, bias, or inclination, is such a susceptibility as to the enticements of sin, as will lead us to the commission of actual sin, when there shall be sufficient maturity to commit it, I object

not at all to the *thing*, for I fully believe it to be true. The only objection, moreover, which I have to the *language* is, that it is adapted to mislead, and to make men believe, that sin consists in our susceptibilities, and not in voluntary affection or action.

How can we maintain with any proper consistency and regard to the real nature of man and the character of God, that our native susceptibilities are *sins*? Or that all susceptibility to impression by enticements to sin, is itself a sin? We cannot do this, with any consistency. Adam had at first a susceptibility to impressions from sinfully enticing objects; else he had never felt the enticing power of them, nor sinned, nor fallen. He had this susceptibility even in his original state of primæval innocence. How then can such a susceptibility be called of itself a *sin*?

The fallen angels had the same susceptibility, in their originally pure and holy state; otherwise they had never felt the power of enticement to sin, and never would have fallen.

With the deepest reverence I say it, the Lord Jesus Christ himself had a susceptibility of feeling the power of enticement to sin; like to that which Adam had before his fall. If not, then he did not really and truly take on him a human nature. The fact that such a susceptibility belonged to Adam in his primitive state, shews that it belongs to human nature in its perfect probationary state. The blessed Saviour then might have had it—he did and must have it—in order to be truly *man*. If not, how could he be tempted to sin? Above all—how could he be “tempted in all points as we are?”

Indeed, can we conceive of a nature truly human, without such a susceptibility? But if Adam in his original state had a measure of this susceptibility; if the Saviour himself, as possessing our nature, had a measure of this; how are we going to make out a susceptibility of this kind to be in itself *sin*? Was Adam a *sinner* before his fall? Is he “who knew no sin,” to be reputed a sinner, because he could feel the power of enticement to sin? These questions do not need a specific answer.

Why then should we not be consistent here in theologizing? That which Adam possessed as a constituent of his very nature before his fall; that which the Saviour himself possessed when he was “tempted in all points as we are,” should not be called sin. How can we deem it safe and discreet and proper thus to employ language? And if it is not, then why should the same

thing be called *sin* in infants, at the present time? I grant that the *proportion* of this susceptibility is very different from that which was in Adam and in the Saviour. In the latter, the susceptibilities of impression or of excitement to action, from objects *good* and *holy*, were altogether predominant; in mankind since the fall, and in their unrenewed state, they are just the reverse. But because an infant has, as we will suppose for the sake of illustration, ten degrees of the susceptibility in question, and Adam had only two or one degree in his original state, this does not authorize us to conclude, that the thing itself, viz. the susceptibility, is of a nature different in the one case from what it is in the other. Actual sinners of all gradations exist among us, from one degree, we may say, up to one thousand; but he who belongs to the lowest gradation, is still a sinner as really and truly as he that belongs to the highest gradation, although not in the same measure or degree.

That thing, then, in the Saviour and in Adam, which was *not* sin, when existing in one degree, is not sin when existing in ten degrees or more at the present day, in all of our race, while in their native state or condition.

It will doubtless be asked here: What then, is there not such a thing as *sinful* disposition, bias, taste, inclination, in men? Are we to abandon all expressions of this sort, so long established by usage, and the common sense of mankind?

Not at all to abandon them, is my reply. Whenever a disposition, bias, inclination, propensity, or whatever of this nature one may please to name it, is spoken of as being *sinful*, the phraseology evidently may have two different meanings. In the one case, if by the phraseology in question we mean to designate the bias, or inclination, or propensity to evil, which men have created for themselves by practically indulging in sin, then these words may be taken in their natural and proper sense. It is a known law of our being, that the indulgence of forbidden desires and practices strengthens our propensity to evil. The man then who is guilty of such indulgence, is truly and properly a sinner because of his strengthened *propensities* to evil. All which he has done to augment these propensities, has been voluntary transgression of God's law; and for these propensities, as thus augmented or aggravated, he is altogether accountable as a sinner. They are not only the evidence of his sin, but, in as much as he has made them strong and imperious, so far as they have been augmented and made to become imperious by him,



they are themselves *sinful*, because they have been strengthened by voluntary sinful indulgence. Hence the Scriptures so often speak, and truly they may speak, of ἐπιθυμία as being *sinful*.

But there is another sense which may be given, and has not unfrequently been given to the phrase *sinful* disposition, bias, inclination, taste etc. It has been applied to characterize the *original* susceptibilities, belonging to our nature, of being impressed by enticements to sin. In such a case, can any thing more be properly meant by this phraseology, than that these susceptibilities are adapted to lead or excite us to sin? If we do mean more, and if we insist upon it, that in their original state, before voluntary action, these are *actually sin*, then several consequences must follow from this which are of serious import, and which are entitled to sober consideration.

(1) Our *native* susceptibilities, taste, disposition, or whatever name is given to these as a designation, are not the result of any thought, design, voluntary action, or influence of any kind put forth or exerted by ourselves. We are in *no* sense the proper *authors* of them.

(2) God is our Maker. The laws of our nature have been arranged solely by him. He is the ultimate author of our being, of the whole of it with all its faculties, endowments, attributes, properties, or propensities, as it exists before any voluntary action on our part.

These two positions do not need proof. To state them, is sufficiently to demonstrate them; therefore,

(3) If our native propensities are themselves a *sin*, then the conclusion seems to be plain and inevitable, that God is the author of sin; not merely that he has made beings who can commit sin, but that he has made beings, a part of whose very nature, as it comes from his hands, is sin. I am unable to see how this conclusion can be fairly avoided by any, who maintain that our original susceptibilities or propensities are themselves, and in their very nature, sin.

On this account, as I am unwilling to plunge into the yawning gulf which is laid open by such a process of thought, I hope I shall be forgiven by those who advocate the old form of the doctrine of original sin, if I am earnest in asking: Why should we maintain a form of doctrines, or defend modes of expression, when the legitimate and logical consequence that flows from them is, the conclusion that God is the author of sin? I wish it to be noted here, that I do not charge this last position

to the actual account of the advocates in question ; for they disclaim it. I only say that the deduction which I have made from the premises in question, seems to me to be fairly made, and in the way of simple ratiocination to be quite undeniable.

That God has made beings who can sin and do sin, is certainly true. He made angels of light, who did sin ; he made the original parents of our race, who did sin ; he makes us, also, who do sin. Free agents, *in a state of probation*, must have a power to sin ; else they are not free agents in a state of probation. *Probation* means *trial* ; and trial without the power or the possibility of sinning, would seem to be a mere empty name without meaning.

I am aware that one suggestion may be here made in reference to the preceding remarks, and probably will be made by some who doubt respecting the correctness of such views as I have expressed, viz., that these views do not seem to be consistent with themselves. How, it will be asked, can that which exists (as we may say for illustration) in ten degrees in infants, and yet is not a sin,—how can it, when increased beyond this measure by subsequent voluntary affections and actions, become a sin ? Are we then to be told that the same thing in ten degrees is not sin, which in eleven degrees and all beyond is sin ?

I admit the seeming difficulty which these questions throw in my way, and that at first view it appears somewhat formidable. Yet I must beg to be heard, for a few moments, in respect to this point, that I may give my reasons for not yielding to the apparent force of the argument which the questions before us appear to urge.

I would ask, in the first place, whether God has not given us, for example, the natural appetites of hunger, thirst, and sexual desire ? I ask further : Are these, in their native state and not augmented by luxurious living and debauchery, in themselves sinful ? May I not presume that the answer will be in the *negative* ? But when these appetites are increased by undue indulgence, is not all the unnatural and adjecitious part of them sinful ? Is it not a known law of our nature, that undue gratification of such appetites of course increases them ? And does not he who gratifies them unduly, therefore sin against a known law, written, not only in the Scriptures, but upon his own heart and conscience ? It does not follow then, as a matter of course, that appetites, inclinations, or whatever we may call them, may not be sinful when exerted beyond a

certain degree, which were not sinful in themselves when existing below that measure.

But, secondly, the main difficulty with the argument which the questions before us suggest, is, that we can, in no way that I can see, avoid the legitimate conclusion that the Author of our nature is the author of sin, if we aver that any of the elementary constituents of that nature which we bring into the world, are themselves *sin*. Be the proportion of susceptibilities for receiving impressions from enticements to sin, higher or lower, if they are native, i. e. connate, innate, and original or contemporaneous with our being, (not in their developed state, but in their nascent or germinous state), then they are a part of the work of our Maker; they are, at all events, originated by the laws of production which he has himself established in respect to the propagation of our being; and how can we call them a sin, be they of more or less strength, without implicating him in the charge of being the author of sin?

There is, after all, one difficulty here, which may seem not to be altogether removed by the answers now given. This is, that there is in all men as now constituted, even while in their infantile state, the germs of susceptibilities which will be predominant on the side of sin, so soon as the time of their development arrives. How can this *excess* on the side of sin be accounted for? Allowing that a certain portion of such susceptibilities must belong to men or angels, while on probation in their primitive state, yet how can we account for this *excess* at present? A question, I think, that no one can answer in a manner at all satisfactory, who does not consider the solution proffered by the apostle Paul, in Rom. 5: 12—19.

The apostle has distinctly told us there, that “by the offence of one, judgment came upon all unto condemnation;” or that “by the transgression of one, many were made sinners.” When Adam sinned, he, and through him all his race, became the subjects of degradation and of the destructive power of sin. All his posterity, by a connection with him which the laws of a propagated nature rendered certain and inevitable, were doomed to partake of a nature in one very important respect the reverse of what his nature originally was. Their susceptibilities in respect to objects enticing to sin, became, or rather were to be, altogether predominant, until they should become renewed in the spirit of their minds, or sanctified by the Spirit of God. In this way Adam did bring all men into a state of

condemnation; in this way did his offence constitute them sinners, or occasion them to become sinners.

Such are the facts; at least such appears to my mind to be the plain and certain matter of fact, as set forth by the apostle. For more than this, as to substance, I do not understand the advocates of original sin in general to contend. I do not mean, that they would not employ different language in some respects, in order to convey these ideas; what I mean is, that essentially and substantially my views and theirs, on this point, do not seem to me to differ.

Now here, in respect to the point under consideration, viz., the present high degree of susceptibility in men, while in their natural state, to receive impressions or excitement from enticements to sin, there is undoubtedly a great, yea, in some respects an awful mystery, which it has not pleased God fully to reveal to us. The fact that such has been the consequences of the fall, is developed by the whole history of our race, by the individual experience of all, and by the holy Scriptures. But *why* such a law in respect to human beings should exist, it has not pleased the infinite Majesty of heaven and earth to reveal; I mean, that he has no where, so far as I know, explained directly and fully to men the grounds of his proceeding in this deeply interesting matter. Still, when the mind is bowed down under the weight of this subject; when we are ready to despond, or perhaps even secretly to murmur, because some light has not been let in upon this perplexing and agitating topic of consideration; we may yet gather something to cheer us, by patient examination of the whole subject, and more especially so if we contemplate it in the light in which Paul appears to have viewed it.

Although it falls not within the direct and proper object of the present remarks, to treat of this mystery, yet if others have felt agitations of soul such as I have sometimes experienced in the contemplation of it, they will readily forgive me for making some brief reflections upon the mysterious dealing of an all-wise Providence with our race, in regard to the matter now before us.

(1) God has by such an arrangement shewn the dreadful tendency and nature of sin. The degradation and fall of our race, was consequent on Adam's *first* sin. "By the offence of one, judgment came upon all unto condemnation." As this is a truth which cannot be denied, so it should not be obscured or kept back. In and by the fact, that all our race are now born



with susceptibilities that will certainly lead to sin whenever they are voluntarily developed, (which is just the reverse of Adam's original state), God has testified to all our race his displeasure against sin, and thus proclaimed, as it were with the voice of a thousand thunders, the mischievous consequences of it to the creatures of his power. But,

(2) Even in this inferior, fallen, degraded condition, *sin*, in the proper sense of this word, viz. a voluntary transgression of divine law by a rational, moral, and free agent, is not a thing in its own nature *necessary*, nor strictly inevitable. It can be committed only by an actual *choice*; and choice implies of course the power of doing or not doing, of preferring or not preferring. It cannot well be denied that the soul, if made with respect to its principal and natural attributes or faculties in the image of God himself, has such a power. It appears to belong essentially to its nature as a soul. The fact that we *choose*, of course implies that we have the power to choose; and the power to choose, implies that the choice we make is not a necessary and inevitable choice (which is no choice), but that we might have made a different choice, i. e. we might have gone in a different direction, had we been pleased so to do.

(3) God has provided adequate redemption from this fallen and degraded condition; he has even more than provided for repairing the evils occasioned by the fall. So the whole tenor of Rom. 5: 12—19 teaches us; and evidently it is true teaching. In Adam's original state one sin was in itself the cause of endless ruin. Under a mere system of law, there could be no pardon of offences. But now all is reversed. "We are not under the law, but under grace." One sin, or ten thousand thousand sins do not cut off the hope of salvation. There is pardon for the penitent; there is grace to help in time of need; there is forgiveness that God may be feared.

Let him then, who is disposed to cast a doubting and despairing eye over our present prospect, or to indulge a repining temper of mind because of the terrible consequences of Adam's fall, learn to look on the bright as well as on the dark side of this question. *Glad tidings of great joy* are proclaimed the earth around, and a Saviour is born unto us who is Christ the Lord. God has shewed his hatred of sin in a manner which must be an awful admonition to all intelligent beings, who may come to the knowledge of his proceeding with our race; but he has shewn his clemency, too, in brighter colours still.

But I must desist from this course of remark, and turn the attention of the reader to some other considerations which ought not be kept out of sight on the present occasion.

What, after all that has been said and written on the subject of *original sin*, has been satisfactorily advanced to shew that the Scriptures recognize two sorts of sin? I have not been able to find the satisfaction which I desire. Still, I will not dispute about mere *names*; although it is lawful and proper to assign reasons, if we can, why certain names and phraseology should not be employed. Whenever these seem to be adapted to mislead the public mind, in their conceptions of any subject, they ought to be avoided.

The advocates for original sin, even the strenuous advocates, are by no means all agreed either as to the extent, or as to the exact nature, of the guilt contracted by it. Some important points in this respect, according to my view of the subject, they have failed to illustrate, or at any rate to clear up. Let me particularize a few things, which may serve to justify me in making these declarations.

(a) None of the advocates in question have yet been able to shew, that *original sin* is a sin which can be repented of.

Now evangelical repentance always implies two things; first, sincere sorrow for sin; secondly, forsaking it and turning to holiness of life.

Who then repents that his Maker has formed him as he has? I have heard of those who cursed the day of their birth; and of those who cursed their Maker for having made them as he has; and of those who repined and murmured against him, because he had so made them; but I have yet to learn that this is any part of evangelical repentance.

Then, in the next place, where, when, how, is this original sin to be *forsaken*, or got rid of? Do pious men beget godly children? It seems they do not. But of what avail then is their repentance, in respect to the sin in question? Not the least. The children of a David, of a John, a Baxter, an Edwards, or a Doddridge, have as much original sin, for aught we know, as the children of a Judas Iscariot would have.

What kind of a *sin* is it then, which admits of neither contrition nor amendment? At any rate, what kind of a sin is it, which cannot possibly be avoided by the most pious, who commit it (if I may be allowed such an expression) as fully as the most impious? And if such is the nature of what is called

original sin, it seems to be a species of sin that it would be difficult to define, or to find exemplified in the Scriptures. Then,

(b) All that is properly *sin*, is forbidden. What then is the law which now forbids original sin? Or who is guilty of violating its precepts? Are parents? Then let them refrain from marriage and from progeny. Is it children? In what sense are they guilty of violating a law of which they had no knowledge, one which controlled the very elements of their original being before they had a will, affections, or even consciousness?

But it will be said here, for it often has been said, that sin inherent is a *punishment* for the sin of Adam, which is ours by *imputation*. But if the sin is merely *putative*, would not a common law of justice demand, that the punishment should be merely putative? How can we unite, as *par cum pari*, putative crime and veritable damnation?

Besides; is it true that there is no evil in the world, except what is *punishment*? What then are the sufferings of brutes? What were the afflictions of Job? What are the trials of good men, whose sins are forgiven, and who are no longer obnoxious to the penalties of sin pronounced by the law? What was the permission to the tempter to go into paradise, and solicit Adam to ruin himself and involve all his race in degradation and ruin? What temporal evil or suffering can be compared to exposure to such an evil as this? And yet Adam was exposed to all this in his *primaeval* and holy state. How then can it be said, that all evil is to be regarded only in the light of *punishment*?

The fact is, that the abominable and horrible nature of sin consists in the very thing, that according to the arrangement of the universe it brings evil upon the *innocent* as well as the guilty. This we see exhibited every day in the social, civil, religious, and political state of man.

(c) Once more; the advocates of original sin are far from having ascertained, or from being agreed, what sort of punishment original sin requires or deserves.

One cannot wonder at this, when he considers the nature of the case. A sin to which we never gave consent and of which we never had any knowledge; a sin committed (if at all committed) in the very origination of our being—how shall we find an adequate punishment for such a sin? No wonder, therefore, that we find some of its advocates greatly embarrassed here, and at a loss to know whether to take the right, or the left, or

the middle path, or to stand still. Such we may easily shew to have been the real state of the case.

It cannot be denied, (although I cannot but wish it could be truly denied), that some of the leading early Reformers maintained the doctrine of the damnation of such as died *in infancy*. So Calvin in his Institutes, Lib. II. c. 1. § 6. Lib. III. c. 23. § 7. Lib. IV. c. 15. § 10. But he was not always consistent here; or, at any rate, he admits in other parts of his writings, e. g. Comm. in Rom. 5: 12—19, the probable salvation of the children of the elect, who die during their infancy. Still, the general persuasion of his mind seems to have been, that infants, who die in their infancy, perish, and perish because they are included within the decree of reprobation. But as to the manner or degree of their punishment or in some respects of their guilt, he does not explain himself, as I apprehend, so that we can obtain his views fully and explicitly.

In like manner we shall find Piscator expressing himself, App. ad Tract. de Gratia Dei; and so also Joh. Scharpius, de Reprobatione; P. II. Arg. XI; Tilenus, Syntag. de Predest.; F. Gomar, Opp. II. p. 279; A. Polanus, Syntag. Lib. IV. c. 10, Thes. II. IV.; Dr. Twisse of England has intimated the like views.

The method of argument, however, by which these views were confirmed, or at least by which this class of theologians attempted to confirm them, was not such as the reader might naturally expect, considering what their mode of speaking was in regard to the guilt of original sin. Polanus has given us a specimen of it, in his discussion respecting the *efficient cause* of reprobation. His argument runs thus: 'If *sin* is the efficient cause of the decree of reprobation, then it must be either original sin or actual sin. It cannot be original sin; for, inasmuch as all men are the subjects of this, all men must therefore be reprobates. It cannot be actual sin, because then all infants, even of the Turks and heathen, dying in that state, would be saved. Therefore the efficient cause of reprobation must be the mere good pleasure of God himself.'

It is at least to be hoped, that there are not many in our day who are prepared to argue, that one third part of the human race are sentenced to everlasting misery, without any reference to their moral character, their sin either original or actual. If this be one of the *standard* doctrines of the Reformation, then, at least in one respect, there is a wide and general defection in modern times from the standard.



The method of argument here employed by Polanus, (in which, by the way, he is not singular and by no means stands alone), would exempt us from all solicitude as to any consequences or fruits of original sin, so far as the destiny of infants is concerned. All dispute or discussion about their sin or innocence, would indeed be worse than idle, if the views of Polanus, and of those who argue with him, are to be regarded as correct and scriptural.

But I do not take the matter to be thus. Few indeed, in our country, would venture on a sweeping sentence, that delivers over all infants to final and endless perdition, without any regard to sin either actual or original. How can any one peruse such an argument as that of Polanus, without feeling himself forced to exclaim: And are infants then the beings, to whom the Saviour says his disciples must be like, before they can enter the kingdom of heaven? Are these the beings, respecting whom the holy Redeemer exclaimed, "Of such is the kingdom of heaven?" The disciples of the blessed Saviour must be like—*reprobates*! And the kingdom of heaven is of such as—*reprobates*!

But enough of this. It will be conceded by all who are acquainted with the doctrinal history of the Reformed Churches, that time has lopped off these excrescences of theology and school logic, and mellowed the tone in which matters of this kind are usually spoken of. The general persuasion has been, for many scores of years, and still is, that infants are probably the subjects of salvation, and that this is the purchase of redeeming blood. I have more than once already stated that my belief is such.

Some of the second generation of Reformers touched the subject of *reprobation* with a lighter hand than the first, and began to call in question the final perdition of infants, or to be silent respecting the subject. When final perdition came to be viewed as connected with sin, and regarded as a consequence of sin merely, then the question very naturally arose: Whether original sin was of itself an adequate ground of eternal perdition? Pictet, whose powers as a theologian were certainly of the first order, and not by any means inferior to those of Calvin himself; who, moreover, is one of the last men that can be accused of deficiency as to a high tone of orthodoxy; in his *Theology* (I. p. 429) puts the question: "Would God condemn a man who should be perfectly holy, because of Adam's sin only?" To this he answers; that "he does not believe he would." It may be said, perhaps, that he means only to declare here, that no one

will suffer eternal damnation, merely because of original sin *imputed*; and that he does not include, in his answer, original sin *inherent*. But still, as both stand on the same ground in one most important respect, viz. with regard to voluntary affection and action, these being entirely excluded from both, it would be difficult to point out any important difference as to moral desert between imputed and inherent sin; and what I suppose Pictet substantially aims at in his answer, is, that he does not believe any one will be eternally punished, who never committed any actual transgression of the divine law.

Dr. Doddridge (Lecture II. pp. 112. 113), in treating of the imputation of Adam's sin, which in his view includes its consequences also, i. e. it includes original sin inherent, says: "That one rational creature should be made finally and eternally miserable for the action of another, which it was in no way within his power to prevent, does so ill agree with our natural notions of divine justice and the repeated declarations of Scriptures, (e. g. Ezek. 18 : 3, 4, 20. Jer. 31 : 29, 30. Deut. 24 : 16. 2 Kings, 14 : 6), and with what God has been pleased to say concerning his compassion for infants (Jonah iv.), that we must at least wait for the plainest and fullest decision of the Scriptures, before we can admit it to be true." Again he says (p. 201. ib.), "if sin signify, (as it commonly does), *an action contrary to the divine law*, these evil propensities [viz. those which are in infants] *are not sins*." Still he seems inclined to believe, that if sin be defined, *a want of conformity to the divine law*, infants might then in a certain sense be called sinners. But if this be true, then why is not every *lusus naturae* a sinner in the kingdom of animals or of vegetables?

Dr. Watts, whose sentiments respecting original sin are sufficiently developed in his Psalms to be known to all, held still, that infants, not the progeny of believers, dying in their infancy, fall into a state of *annihilation*; and Dr. Ridgley, whose high tone of sentiment will not be questioned, maintains that they fall into a state of *everlasting insensibility*; see the references in Doddridge's Lect. ut supra, p. 217.

A large class of the Lutheran divines, as is well known, have maintained, that original sin is altogether removed, i. e. atoned for, by the death of Christ, so that none of the human race can incur final damnation on account of it. Some of them suppose the declarations in Rom. 5: 12—19 to have relation to this subject.

What now does all this, with the later and general admission of the salvation of infants, mean, except that the human mind cannot long be compelled, even by violence, to admit the idea of sin in any respect but that of voluntary offence against known law? This accords with the first spontaneous moral emotions of every man's conscience and judgment. It is consentaneous with the very elements of his moral being.

*Si naturam furcâ expellas usque recurret.* The reprobation-topic of the early Reformers, urged upon the Reformed Churches by the mighty powers of Calvin's mind, has been going by degrees out of the circle of topics in the later theology, or if handled at all, it is treated with much circumspection and moderation. Along with this, a sin which is no sin, i. e. no transgression of any law, has been gradually disappearing also. Both views, in due time, will, as I fully believe, disappear from the horizon of current theology, and be considered only as belonging to the *history* of the past. The progress of sentiment is a pledge of this.

In the mean time, it does not seem to be meet that a quarrel should exist in regard to a matter like the present, which never can be a *practical* one, i. e. the sentiment in question never can be deeply concerned with our practical duty. If the so called *original sin* be a sin, it is not one, as nearly all agree, in the sense which Vitringa gives to the word *sin*; nor does it appear to me to be one in accordance with the definition which the apostles have given of sin. It is plainly a sin, if it be one, which no effort, no prayer, no repentance, no amendments of life, no elevated piety, no conformity to God, can in any measure abate, change, or avoid. It is one, therefore, with which practical and experimental piety would seem to have little or nothing to do. If a thousand questions should be zealously agitated about it, this would not change the sin, nor abate the hold it has upon us, nor instruct us how in any way to avoid it. May we not well ask then: Why should the churches dispute respecting this topic, and become alienated as to their affection towards each other, because of differences of opinion respecting it? Our need of a Saviour is as certain without admitting the older technology respecting original sin, as it is in case we admit it. Our guilt as to actual sin, which is all that we are *practically* concerned with, is surely more apparent and striking, in case it can be shewn that we have sinned not by an absolute necessity of nature which Heaven gave us, but voluntarily and of our own free

choice. Rosenmueller, De Wette, and some others, maintain that David pleads his sinfulness from the womb (in Ps. 51: 5), in order to excuse or palliate the offences he had committed; and in this way they advocate an exegesis not unlike that of days gone by. This shews what kind of impression the idea, that we are sinners in and by the constitution of our nature itself, is likely to make on the human mind. Our guilt, in this way of viewing the subject, would naturally appear to be much palliated; at any rate, it would be deemed by multitudes to be more excusable.

I would repeat the question, then, in order that the mind of the reader may not pass it by without special consideration: Why should we contend about the doctrine of original sin, either imputed or inherent, when all the contention that ever has existed or ever will, cannot modify or affect in the least degree the sin in question, provided it does really and truly exist? Against sin, considered as actual violation of the divine law, we may remonstrate, and lift up, like a trumpet, the voice of warning, with some hope that it will be heard and obeyed. But against original sin, as defined by Turretin, Edwards, and others, the Lord of glory himself, with the whole train of prophets, apostles, and evangelists, might preach, and no effect in the way of repentance, amendment, and forsaking of the sin, could be at all expected. Nothing is done or is to be done, which can in any degree modify or check it. It descends in the same manner and measure to the children of the elect and of reprobates. It begins before all active thought, affection, or voluntary desire; is in its own nature passive, and as inevitable to us as the essential attributes of our nature. What then have we to do in the way of preaching against it, or of exhorting men to repentance and reformation? Nothing. When we have told them, then, that their natural state is one in which they are destitute of all that positive holiness which is necessary to fit them for future happiness; when we explicitly teach that their susceptibilities of impression are such, that, in a world like this, they will not only sin, but do nothing of a moral character which is holy; when we have thus shown them that the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Spirit of God are absolutely necessary to their salvation; we have told them all with which they can be practically concerned. To urge on them a *sin* of which no one has in any sense an ability to repent; one of which conscience takes no cognizance; one in



regard to which there is no possible hope of amendment and reformation—what is this but to engage in a desperate business, and to waste our efforts on an undertaking which cannot be otherwise than fruitless?

I acknowledge to the reader, that it is time to bring these remarks to a close. But I cannot do this, and (after saying so much) I ought not to do this, without noticing in a very brief way some few things, that have not yet been brought to view, respecting the proper nature of sin.

It has been advanced, not only in times past, but recently and often by one class of theologians in our country, that a *propensity* to sin is not only sinful in itself, but is the only root and ground of all actual sin; and this propensity they aver to be natural, or connate with our being.

After what has already been said above, it will not require much time here to say all that needs now to be said. I have already stated, that so far as our disposition, propensity, bias, or inclination to sin, i. e. so far as an aptitude to receive excitement from objects enticing to sin, is concerned, all of this propensity which has been occasioned or formed by our voluntary acts of transgression, is, beyond reasonable doubt, a matter of guilt on our part. We are now concerned, therefore, only with the aptitude to receive these impressions which is native or contemporaneous with our nascent being.

If a *predominant disposition* to sin, as it is called, is absolutely necessary in order to sin, (which has often been asserted); and if, moreover, a disposition that may lead to sin is itself a sin in its first or native elements; then it is incumbent on those who defend these positions to tell us how it came to pass, that the once pure and holy angels sinned; and also how the once pure and holy Adam sinned. Had they originally a *predominant* native disposition to sin? If so, then they never were holy. Did they sin, then, without such a predominant disposition? If so, then such a disposition is of course not the real and only origin, nor a true account of the origin, of sin. It is impossible to proceed one step, therefore, in sound reasoning, by taking such a position, in respect to the origin, or at any rate the *necessary* origin, of sin.

In the next place, if a *disposition* to sin, is the cause, and only cause, of sin, and also is itself a sin, then what is the cause of this last sin? For this must have a *cause*, as well as any other sins. A disposition to sin is surely not without some

cause. And thus we come, at once, to an infinite series of causes ; or if not, then we come to a series whose first link is quite as obscure and inexplicable as its last one would be, aside from this theory. Nothing at all, then, is gained by such a process.

Nor will it satisfy inquiring and intelligent minds here, to say that the first acts of sin were *singular* in their kind, and that no others can be like them. If by this be meant, that after the first act of sin is committed, there can be no other *first* act of sin—this, I suppose, need not be greatly contested. But if it be meant, that the sin of Adam differed as to its psychological or metaphysical nature or causes from other sins which are subsequent, this is neither more nor less than a *petitio principii* in respect to the whole matter in dispute ; and one too which few, as I apprehend, will be ready to concede. There is another aspect, however, in which most men versed in the polemics of theology will be likely to view such a suggestion. They will consider it merely as an expedient, under a pressure, to get rid of a difficulty which cannot otherwise be well disposed of, and as an attempt rather to throw dust in the eyes of an antagonist, than manfully and fairly to meet him.

Besides ; if this mode of reasoning be adopted, the conclusion that God is the author of sin, will at last appear to be logically inevitable. If the aptitude to receive excitement from enticing sinful objects, as it exists originally in our nature and unaugmented by any vicious habit, be of and in itself a *sin*, then does it inevitably follow of course, that the author of this aptitude must be the author of sin. It is not at all like the question : Whether God, who is the author of our being as free moral agents, must not be the author of our sins too ? for in this case, our sins are the voluntary product of an agency which is free. Our sins, therefore, are properly *our own*, i. e. our own in the proper sense of these words. But in the first case stated above, sin is not an exercise of the mind, not a result of free will and choice, but an element of our physiological or psychological being—a something which came directly from the hand of the Creator, without any intervening thought, desire, or effort of our own which was in any way concerned with it. And although it would be doing injustice to most of those who advocate such a theory of sin as the one now under examination, to charge them with holding, and directly and avowedly maintaining, that God is the author of sin, I do not see how we can

avoid the conclusion, that the plain and necessary deductions which a truly logical ratiocination must make from premises such as theirs, unavoidably lead to the conclusion, that God, the author of a nature which is itself a sin, must be the author of sin.

There are other difficulties, formidable ones too as they appear to my mind, which lie in the way, of such a theory as the one under examination. It ought to be consistent in its reasonings concerning holiness, with its own principles in regard to sin. Accordingly it maintains the necessity of a nature or taste or faculty, (it is difficult to tell which, so variant are its modes of representation, and some of them withal so very indistinct), which is physiologically a new creation, by the act of the Holy Spirit in the regeneration of the soul, and which is at the same time essential to any truly virtuous or holy action on the part of man. Of course, therefore, if this view is correct, the command to the sinner *to make to himself a new heart*, and *to repent and believe*, is a command to do a work, the performance of which does from the very nature of the case supposed, require physiological omnipotence. Nor is this all. It would seem to render the perpetual presence and aid of the Spirit, as every where spoken of and represented by the sacred writers, almost, if not altogether, superfluous. A man, in whom a new physiological creation has taken place, and who has thus obtained a new faculty, or a new objective basis of taste, which will impart to him at all times a predominant desire to be holy and to obey the divine commands—how does he need the continual and special aid of the Holy Spirit? At least, how can he need it any more than Adam did in Paradise before his fall? To inculcate such views of a new taste, new faculty, new disposition, or whatever it may be called, as these, and then to insist on the special divine agency of the Spirit in every one of all the holy actions or volitions of saints, seems to be at least, a very incongruous, if not contradictory, system of religious philosophy.

And after all, these are not the only objections to such views. What weighs more with me than all, is, that such a view of our propensities as makes them to the soul what a sluice of water is to a water-wheel, at once unmakes the image of the living God in the soul, and converts us into what is neither more nor less than machines; not indeed mere physical and *material* machines, yet to all intents and purposes the very same thing in a psychological respect. We need merely a new term of design-

nation which will characterize another species of machine, viz. a *moral* machine, or (if any one likes it better) a *psychological* machine. If motives *ab extra* are *all* which regulate the movements of the soul in the way of willing and acting, then, as the soul has not any effectual control over these and cannot refuse to notice and to feel them—then is the soul as really a machine as a water-wheel, or at any rate differs about as much from one, as a *wind*-wheel would from a *water*-wheel, provided one could but inspire a wind-wheel with somewhat of intelligence and feeling. Had it these, the wind, in the case supposed, would still carry it round as fast and as inevitably as water carries the other.

Let us turn, now, from these various considerations to the simple question once more : *How much, after all, do the Old School and New School differ, in their views respecting the real nature of sin?*

If we except, as I always would except, *extremists* on either side, I can in my conscience say, that I do not regard the difference between them as amounting to any thing at all *essential* in theology. In philosophizing about the metaphysical nature of man, they may differ ; that is, they may and do take different courses in order to explain to their own minds certain phenomena of the human soul and of free agency, which phenomena the Scriptures have noticed and recognized, but have not given any psychological explanation of them.

They may differ about the *terms* which they employ, when treating of the subjects that have now been considered. They do so ; but still the very fact that *original* sin is distinguished from *actual* sin, and asserted to be a part of our very nature, not a part of our voluntary exercises, is of itself evidence—conclusive evidence—that actual sin is regarded in the same light by both parties. And so far as what is named original sin is concerned, the difference is more in *terminology* than in substance. Both agree that man, in his native state and before regeneration, is not only destitute of all holiness, but that he has a susceptibility of impression or excitement from objects which entice to sin, which will certainly lead him to actual sin, and only to this, in all his moral acts, before he becomes regenerate. Both agree that even infants are in such a state, that they are not only destitute of all positive holiness, but that their susceptibilities or aptitudes to receive impressions enticing to sin, are, although yet in a nascent and undeveloped state, of such a nature and in such



a degree in their germ, that they will, in they fuller development, certainly lead to sin. Both agree therefore, that infants, as well as others, must be changed, regenerated, sanctified, i. e. rendered such that they may become *actually* holy, before they can be fitted for the kingdom of heaven. The so called New School, so far as I know, no more expects or believes that infants can be saved without the grace of God through a Redeemer, than does the Old School. *Grace* it must be that regenerates and saves them; for holiness they have not, nor any thing which entitles them to a claim of final happiness on the score of *merit*. The work of the Saviour and of his Spirit is not, therefore, in any degree frustrated or denied, in respect to infants, provided they are saved at all; which, as I would hope and trust I may say, neither party will deny.

Nor do the New School, when they appeal to what the Saviour has said respecting little children, believe or pretend, at all, that he refers to them as models in positive holiness. They believe that he refers to them as plain and striking examples of inactivity in sin, as free from developing, as yet, passions that are sinful or lead to sin; and that he commends them, in this respect, to the notice and imitation of his disciples. In other words, they believe the Savior means to say to his disciples, that it is their duty to keep down ambitious and selfish passions, and put them to silence, as effectually as they are kept silent in infants. This will cost Christians, indeed, many a severe contest and long protracted efforts. But the doctrine is not new, that we are *to take up the cross and to deny ourselves*, in order that we may be exemplary followers of the Redeemer.

What is left, then, in regard to the nature of sin, or with regard to the native condition of men, about which the Old School and the New ought to dispute and on account of which they ought to divide? No earthly thing, as it seems to me, but just *terminology*, and *metaphysical philosophy* in respect to the psychological developments of man. As to the first, is it a good and sufficient ground for alienation, and want of charity, and brotherly kindness of feeling? And as to the second, when does the church expect that metaphysical philosophy will come to be one and the same, the world over? Every generation, or at least every century, produces a new system of mental philosophy, which first discards, then scorns, and at last ridicules, all that had gone before, unless indeed there might have been in some one, the germ of the new system which becomes

dominant. Where is Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Leibnitz, Wolf, Des Cartes, Locke, Kant, Jacobi, Fichte, and others? Where will shortly be Schelling, Hegel, Cousin, Stewart, Reed, Brown, Jouffroy, and others? Some or all of these expected their systems to be immortal, on the ground that they fully believed themselves to have discovered the truth. All of them have held some truth; but did any one, or does any one, discover *all* truth? And when is this to be fully ascertained and set forth in metaphysics?

I will not say: Never. I have no right to say this; and hardly do I believe it. In the Millenium I would hope men will become better metaphysicians than they have been, and that they will lean more to the Bible in support of a system of truth. Yet the Bible has not taught metaphysics as a *science*; neither has it taught even theology in this way. Still, there is in the Bible a recognition of all the constituent principles of our moral nature; and the time will probably come, when these, like theology, will be *systematized*, and be taught more plainly and with more success than they have heretofore been.

Metaphysics, then, in their present state, are not a proper ground of division and alienation among churches; nor are they a proper subject of contention in the theological circle. It cannot be justified, therefore, that the churches should divide, and proscribe each other on such a ground as this.

What then actually remains here, as a ground of contention? Nothing, I answer again, except certain deductions, dependent on terminology merely, or else on metaphysical philosophy. But are disputes which mere terminology originates; or disputes which the psychological philosophy of the schools originates; a ground for rending asunder the body of Christ, and making the church a spectacle to the world of division and strife? I do not—I cannot—believe this; and I put it to the conscience of every sober and pious man in our country, whether he ought to believe and admit it.

Could all parties be persuaded to examine *things* as independently of names as possible; could they be brought fully to recognize the weakness and imperfection of human nature and of the knowledge which men possess; could they become altogether obedient to the apostolic injunction to “receive those who are weak in the faith,” and this without any “doubtful disputations;” then peace might speedily return to our churches, and the energies now expended on mutually destroying each

other's influence, and defaming and degrading each other, might all be turned to diffusing abroad the knowledge of a Saviour's precious name, and preaching the gospel to every creature. Is there a Christian who prays that God's kingdom may come, who does not earnestly wish that such a state of things may speedily take place, and that the *Prince of peace* may reign over a kingdom whose character, like his own, is *peaceful*?

I am aware that my motives for writing an essay like the present may be called in question, and that I may be accused, after all, of cherishing party views, and of laboring to promote the interests of party. I am also aware, that protestations of innocence in respect to such a matter, do not avail much, and are of no great importance. A man must be known by his fruits. If the tenor of his writings is that of a party-man; if he shews an unwillingness to consider and weigh any arguments on the side opposed to that which he has espoused; if he urges considerations adapted to exasperate the spirit of controversy, or such as are designed to subject his opponents to contumely and reproach or degradation; then it matters not whether he disclaims party views, nor whether he declares his impartiality and freedom from party spirit. By our works we must be known. And if there is, in the preceding essay, any thing which savours of this spirit, or which is conducted on such grounds and with such views as these, then I ask the reader to forgive me, and to put it to the account of human infirmity. But if there is apparent any sincere desire and effort to bring forward considerations which are in their nature *irenical*; if there is any thing adapted to shew that there is no sufficient reason for a quarrel among the churches in respect to the points under consideration; if there is any thing which may serve to shew, that the parties in contest do not after all differ as to essentials; then I beseech the candid and intelligent reader to open his ears to this, and to let it have with him all the weight which so serious a matter ought to have.

Unhappily it is becoming a fashion, among one class of writers in our country, to contend by using odious appellations. *Pelagian* and *Arminian* on one side, *Fatalist* and *Bigot* on the other, are the *small change* in which not a few of the newspaper writers and party reviewers abound. How often is one compelled to say of those who employ epithets which they design to be reproachful, and who shew at the same time that they have no proper knowledge of what Pelagius or Arminius held, or

what Fatalist and Bigot should be used to designate—how often must he say : “That the soul be without knowledge, is not good !” Michael the archangel did not venture thus to oppose the very devil himself. Shall we deal with our brethren and fellow Christians more rigidly, than the great “accuser of the brethren” has himself been dealt with ?

I am aware after all—and this occasions the deepest sigh that I can utter—that even argument comes to be looked upon by heated controversialists as designed abuse, and an exposure of absurdities in reasoning, as little better than party venom. Should the thoughts which I have now thrown before the public come before the minds of such individuals, I do not expect their ear or their approbation. Yet I would submit, with patience, to any reproach which they may utter ; and wait in silent hope that the time of exasperation will soon pass away, and that candour and a peaceful spirit may then again claim and exercise their rights. In the hour of dangerous sickness ; in the recesses of communion with our own spirits ; on a dying bed ; before the bar of God ; it will not be matter of exultation that we have been fomenters of strife, nor that we have triumphed over, or trampled under foot, the Christian rights of our brethren to think and to decide for themselves, in matters pertaining to religious faith and doctrine. By his own master each man will ultimately stand or fall. And when we know this, and feel obligated to act in accordance with the views which it inspires, we must not shrink from our duty, either to gain any applause, or to avoid any obloquy, which may be consequent upon our efforts to restore peace and mutual confidence where they have been destroyed.

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#### ARTICLE IV.

#### THE ORIGIN OF WRITING IN GREECE AND EGYPT.\*

By the Rev. T. Parker, West Roxbury, Mass.

THE origin of all the most useful arts is involved in obscurity. The inventors of the Plough and the Loom, of the Ship and

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[\* In a note accompanying this article, the author remarks that, in investigating the genuineness of the Pentateuch, he had often been embarrassed by the antecedent question concerning the state of letters



the Harp, were deified because they were unknown. All inventions were ascribed to the gods, who, as Warburton has wittily said, "took what there were none to claim, as strays belong to the lord of the manor." The invention of letters is one of the most remarkable triumphs of the human mind. To devise a score of characters that shall represent the words of one man, or of all nations, countless as these words appear, is to render an unparalleled service to mankind. It is to invent a process whereby the thoughts of a nation shall be embalmed in beautiful speech, and preserved, without loss of vitality, to the end of time.

The inquiry upon the origin of writing is attended with numerous and great difficulties. The early writers who touch upon the subject, were careless, uncritical and notoriously inaccurate. Some of them were industrious collectors of facts; others made ingenious arrangements of them, but few, if any, decided upon critical principles. Most of them merely reflect the current opinion of the market-place or the temple, without inquiring whether that opinion was true or false. Among the more modern writers, Theory has mostly taken the place of Observation; and conjectures, often fantastic, and sometimes absurd fill their pages. The most extravagant pretensions as to the antiquity of letters have been based on mere rumor or caprice. In this inquiry an attempt will be made to investigate the origin and early use of letters in Greece and Egypt.

#### I. USE OF ALPHABETIC WRITING IN GREECE.

##### 1. *Early use of letters, in books, in Greece.*

It is the commonly received opinion that about 1500 B. C., Cadmus came from Phoenicia, or Egypt, to Greece, bringing with him alphabetical letters, which he introduced among the people.\* Some maintain that the Greeks were previously ac-

in Egypt in the time of Moses, and so was led into this inquiry. The subject is important and interesting not only to the Biblical, but to the general scholar.—ED.]

\* See *Jackson's* chronological antiquities, London, 1792—3. Vol. IV. In his modest title-page the author says, "In this book all the difficulties of the Scripture chronology are cleared—the origin of letters, fully treated of and explained." He informs us of the veritable inventor of letters. It was one Taaut. By a singularly ingenious process, he determines the very year of the great invention, namely, 2619 before Christ! Reasoning from the use of letters at this date among the Phenicians, he concludes the Greeks must have been

quainted with letters, and Cadmus merely exchanged them for the more convenient Phenician characters, which subsequently prevailed. Others contend, the Greeks had no letters, but employed hieroglyphics before the arrival of Cadmus. Learned authors are divided upon the question, but it is quite singular that no ancient writer, of any authority, ever pretends that the Greeks were acquainted with letters before that time. There are numerous passages, in which the old Pelasgi\* are mentioned with applause and veneration; but the use of letters or even of picture writing is never once ascribed to them.

The most satisfactory method of investigating the origin and early use of writing among the Greeks, is perhaps, to commence at some era, when letters were well known, and descend towards the time of the alleged arrival of Cadmus, noticing the state of letters as we proceed. In the time of Herodotus, letters were in common use, in compositions, both in verse and prose. In the year 445 B. C., he read his history at the public games. From the fact that a work of such extent and

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familiar with them long before the time of Cadmus, for how, he asks, with unwonted pertinence, could they remain in ignorance of them 1500 years after the invention? Vol. III. p. 94 sq. p. 102 sq.

Astle defends the early use of letters in Greece. See the *Origin and Progress of Writing*, Lond. 1794. The same opinion is defended by Bouhier in his valuable dissertation on the ancient letters of the Greeks and Romans, at the end of Montfaucon's *Palaeographia Graecae*. Fraucis Wise, one of the most sensible of the English writers upon this subject, thinks that they only employed hieroglyphics. See his *Enquiry concerning the first inhabitants, language, religion, and letters of Europe*, Oxford, 1758, 4to p. 109. M. de Gebelin, an ingenious and learned, but fanciful writer, maintains that writing was currently practised, at *least as early as* the 25th century B. C. See his *Monde Primitif considéré dans l'Histoire Naturelle, de la Parole*, etc. Paris, 1775, 4to p. 423 sq. Lucan (*Pharsalia*, Lib. III. v. 220), ascribes the invention to the Phenicians at a very early age.

Phoenices primi, famae, si creditur, ausi  
Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris,  
Nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos  
Noverat, et saxis tantum volucrisque famaeque  
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.

\* See Wolfii Proleg. ad Homerum, Vol. I. Ch. XIII., who makes the above statement. The remark of Diod. Sic. Lib. V. p. 328 of Rhodoman's edition (fol. 1604), though often misunderstood, is no exception to this remark. See also Lib. III. p. 200 at bottom.

character was thus publicly read, it is safe to infer that writing was not common. But this inference is of little importance in the present question. Some years after this event, viz. 403 B. C., the Athenians for the first time received the present alphabet of twenty-four letters.\* It is said that in the fifth and sixth century B. C., Epicharmus of Sicily and Simonides of Coos had completed the alphabet by the invention of some new letters. These letters were arranged in the present order by Callistratus, and as it appears were first received at Samos. This is called the Ionian alphabet, and is the same that the Athenians begun to use, 403 B. C. The two long vowels were not used before this date at Athens.

Thespis the dramatist, is thought to have flourished about 536 B. C., and Susarion a little before him; but it is highly improbable that their plays were ever *written*.† The first of the Attic comic writers mentioned by Aristotle performed their pieces about 484 B. C., eight years before the time of Xerxes. There is no mention of Attic writers before this date, says Wolf, who is an oracle in matters of this sort,—whose authority is not destroyed by the circumstances of that age, or by the silence of the most approved and valuable writers.

The laws of Solon were promulgated about 594 B. C. They were written on tables of wood in the *boustrophedon* style, (that is, in lines running alternately from left to right or from right to left,) and enclosed in an oblong box in such a manner that they could be turned round and all parts presented to the eye. Such was the rude material employed in recording the laws of the most flourishing city of Greece at the commencement of the sixth century. Were letters at that time applied to merely literary purposes? Solon composed in prose as well as in verse, and since the former could not be preserved in the memory so well as the latter, it is probable writing was then a little used in private compositions.

To go back still farther we find the laws of Zaleucus were written about 664 B. C. according to Eusebius.‡

Clement of Alexandria§ calls him the first law-giver; un-

\* See Bouhier ubi sup. § 66. Wolf ubi sup. Ch. XVI. Eusebius Chron. ad Olymp. XCIII. 4.

† Bentley's Epistle of Phalaris.

‡ Eusebius Chronicon ad Olymp. XXIV. Wolf, Ch. XVII.

§ Stromat. Vol. I. p. 309, cited by Wolf. He says Minos wrote laws,

doubtedly he was the first who gave *written* laws. There is no evidence to prove that letters were used by the Greeks before his time, in composing literary works. Indeed it is highly probable that public laws would be written long before letters were used in more private works. From the time of Lycurgus and the age following, not a book, poem or epistle, says Wolf, has come down to us, nor any credible notice, or allusion to a book written during that period or before it. All the laws, decisions and oracles, the relics of olden times, are to be regarded as oral precepts, which there is no reason to believe were written in the age of their alleged publication. Some of them are not genuine, for it was the vice of the Greek writers to refer many modern institutions to their most ancient legislators. In the early ages, laws were published in the form of verses; and even in the time of Aristotle this custom still prevailed among the Agathyrsi. Now if letters were not used to record public laws in the ninth and eighth century, it is not probable they were used immediately after that age in writing books. A considerable time must needs elapse before they could be generally applied to this latter use.

But in reply to all this, the poems of Homer are cited as conclusive evidence of the earlier use of writing. But Homer never mentions alphabetic characters, and never makes the most distant allusion to writing by letters or hieroglyphics. We cannot infer the existence of the art from any passage of his writings; and since they make allusions to almost every art or science, or national custom known at that time, or at least lead us to infer them, it becomes probable that the art of writing was utterly unknown to him.\* Occasions occur which render it indispensable to speak of letters if they were known to him. A monument is erected, but it bears no inscription. The carefully-wrought shield, the work of a celestial artist, contains neither letter nor hieroglyphic. The warriors "make their mark," on the lots to be cast into the helmet, but they write no name. The ancient writers upon Homer, says Wolf, did not suppose he

and others ascribe written laws also to Lycurgus, but they speak loosely, and it is unfair to press their words for a sense it is evident they were not intended to possess. Clement however says distinctly, the laws of Minos were written in letters of brass. He also thinks that tragedies were invented in that age!!

\* Wolf, p. 80. sq.



was acquainted with letters ; and in the Scholia which the industrious Eustathius has appended to his poems, it is never supposed he could write. Josephus in a famous passage,\* says expressly that Homer wrote nothing. In all his works, says Wolf, the word book, writing, reading, letters, never once occurs ; of so many thousand verses, not one was intended for reading, all for hearing alone. If Telemachus or Penelope could have written a letter, we should have had no *Odyssey*, said Rousseau.

The opinion that Cadmus brought letters to Greece, rests mainly on the authority of Herodotus.† But other ancient writers differ from him upon this point. Aeschylus attributes the invention to Prometheus ; some to Cecrops, to Linus, to Orpheus ; some to Simonides, and others to Palamades. Euripides ascribes the invention of all the letters to him.‡ In the time of Herodotus, it was by no means decided who was the inventor of letters, or who had introduced them to Greece. Herodotus says in that celebrated passage, given above, that “ the Phenicians who came with Cadmus brought learning to the Greeks, and letters also, which the Greeks did not possess before, as it seems to me.” Here he seems to imply that others differed from him upon this point. He goes so far as to add that he has seen “ Cadmean letters in the temple of Ismean Apollo.” Of course they must have been very old, in his time—a thousand years, say some. He inserts some of these “ Cadmean ” sentences in his work. But instead of bearing marks of an age three or four centuries before the Trojan war, they are, as Wolf acutely remarks, only imitations of the Homeric style,

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\* Against Apion. I. 2. The story that Phemius instructed Homer in letters is a sheer fable. So is that about Pronapis, in Diodorus Siculus, Lib. IV. Homer indeed uses the word *γράφειν*, but never in its proper or more modern sense of *to write*. Thus the writers of the tenth century A. C. used the verb *to shoot*, but no one supposes from this, they were acquainted with the use of *fire arms*.

† Lib. V. 58.

‡ Mountfaucon, ubi sup. Int. p. XV. says Pisistratus, (who died about 527, B. C.) had a *very great* Library at Athens. It may be true, but a Score of volumes would have been a great library at that time. He adds,—following Gellius as before,—that Xerxes carried them away, (What could that barbarian do with Greek Books ?) and Seleucus Nicator restored them ! But Strabo—whom he cites in the same page—says Aristotle was the first to collect a library, and taught the kings of Egypt to follow his example.

if there is any thing adulterated in the Orphic verses. These inscriptions were probably written in an unusual and ancient character—specimens of which are still extant—and Herodotus, a man of easy faith, yielding to the instructions of the priests, readily referred them to the time of Cadmus. It is quite remarkable, as Wolf has said, if the story of Cadmus is so ancient as some pretend, that none of the Greek or Latin poets should make use of it. Their silence is the more remarkable as the rest of his history gave occasion for such noble compositions.

The conclusion must be that in the time of Herodotus, there were various traditionary accounts of the origin of letters in Greece. He followed what appeared to him the most satisfactory. We have then no reason to believe that Cadmus brought letters to Greece, fifteen-hundred years before Christ, for the account itself is uncertain, and the subsequent history of the land, shows no vestige of letters for many centuries after that date. The first trace of letters used in writing, in Greece, is found in the laws of Zaleucus, in the seventh century. They are said to have been written in Brass. Shortly after, in the times of Arion, Pittacus, and Sappho, letters were used in works of Art. But even in the age of Solon, writing was in a rude state, though it was more or less extensively used in private works.

## 2. *The use of letters on Grecian coins.*

It is probable letters were used on coins before they were applied to literary purposes, or even to record laws. Yet the first coins, it appears, had no letters upon them : they were estimated by weight. The Aes, the Talent and the Shekel, are names of certain weights. Coins are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious, which bear no figure or inscription of any kind. It is not known to what king, what city, or what age they are to be referred, but doubtless some of them are very ancient. Afterwards the coins bore an emblematic figure, e. g. an Ox, like the ancient money of Athens ; a Dove, like that of Sicyon, or a Hare ; as the ancient coins of Rhegium. Then letters were added to the emblematic device, to designate the city, king or magistrate. At first, these inscriptions consisted of a single letter,—the initial of the state, or ruler. Then, two or three letters, and finally the name was written at length. Some ancient coins present a picture of remarkable events—a battle or a treaty. By this, we can determine their country, and their age. The ancient coins are valuable as they shed light

on the history of art, and furnish important aid in investigating the origin of letters. But in recurring to this source of information, two things should be kept in mind, viz. that it is probable the most ancient coins have perished, and again that many coins which pretend to a great antiquity, are spurious productions of a late age. To this class belong all such as bear the name, or head of Cadmus, Homer, Pythagoras, Minos, Midas, Ancus and Pittacus, which it is well known were forged a few centuries after the christian era.\*

There are some coins whose genuineness is not to be called in question, which are by some writers referred to a great antiquity, many centuries before the date above assigned for the origin of letters in Greece.† There are some Grecian coins whose date can never be fixed beyond a doubt, for it cannot be shown to what city or country they belong. But in most cases an approximation more or less satisfactory may be made to the age of any coin which bears an inscription in letters. In this inquiry, those ancient brass coins, which have no letters upon them are to be rejected, since they shed no light upon the origin or antiquity of writing.

There are others bearing inscriptions in language and character of the old Italian tribes,—the Oscans, the Samnites, the Etruscans,—which deserve notice in this inquiry. Some of them are found in the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii, and great antiquity is claimed for them. The inscription usually reads from right to left, a circumstance which is deemed by some a proof of their great age. But this style of writing continued in use among certain tribes, until a late epoch; for there are coins with inscriptions in the retrograde style, whose modernness is determined by the head of Tiberius Caesar which they bear.‡ There are many Etruscan, Samnite and Oscan coins, still extant, from the first and second centuries before Christ, bearing

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\* See Spanhiem de Praestantia et Usu Nummorum. Vol. I. Diss. VIII. ch. 12. Also, [Schachmann's?] Catalogue raisonnée d'un Collection des Medailles [Leipsic?] 1774, 4to p. 13, and Eckhel Doctrina Nummorum veterum Vol. I. Proleg. p. 9. Those marked with the head of Phido the Argive bear marks of a spurious origin.

† Bernardus in his Alphabetum Graecum maintains they are at least as old as the sixteenth century B. C.

‡ Eckhel ubi sup. Ch. XVII. § 2. Some coins bear inscriptions written alternately from right to left and from left to right.

similar inscriptions. Etruscan books were written *backwards*, from right to left, in the time of Lucretius.

Non Tyrrhena *retro* volventum carmina frustra  
Indicia occultae Divum percurrere mentis.

It may not be amiss to say a word in passing, upon some particular coins alleged to be very ancient. There is one with an inscription in the Samnite character; on one side is a female head armed with a helmet. This devise is common on Samnite coins, and it is a suitable emblem of the Beauty and Strength of the state. On the reverse is a young man on his knees holding a pig; on either side of him stand two soldiers, each holding a small staff in his hand. Some have pretended that this coin is very ancient, but fortunately its exact age may be accurately determined. It is evident from the figures, that the coin was designed to commemorate a treaty, or alliance, where a pig was slain with the customary solemnities. When was the treaty made; and on what occasion? Some of these coins bear the name of C. Papius Mutilus, Imp. Now some of the old historians affirm\* that C. Papius Mutilus [or Mutilius] was the leader of the Samnites in the Marsic or social war, about ninety years before Christ. The treaty commemorated is the alliance formed by the Italian states with the design of obtaining the right of citizenship from the Romans. Cicero refers to this treaty, and says a young nobleman held a pig on the occasion, at the command of the leader.†

The celebrated coins of Nuceria, Buxentum and Suessa, and Tarentum, are thought by some to be very ancient, but when critically examined we find no coin from Italy or Sicily, older than the seventh or eight century before Christ. It is true the famous Messanian coins marked Dankle‡ could not have been executed after the years 470 B. C.§ since the name of the city

\* See the classic authorities in Oliviero, Saggio, etc. Vol. II. p. 57, as cited by Eckhel.

† See Eckhel ubi sup. vol. I. p. 104. See also some acute remarks on these nations in Neibuhr's History of Rome, Vol I. p. 60 sq. American edition.

‡ Zancle was the name of the place, but the ancient Dorians with the Chaldees frequently wrote D for Z. The use of this letter, a manifest Doricism, is to us conclusive evidence, that the coin is not older than the eighth century B. C. See Eckhel I. 219.

§ The date affirmed for the conquest of Zancle, Pausanias, Lib. IV,



was then changed to Messina ; but there is no reason to place their origin far before the above date.

Some of the coins of Rhegium are often referred to the eighth century before Christ. One coin deserves particular notice, on account of the claims sometimes made for it. On one side it bears the name Recinon (Rhegium), and a Hare running. On the other, a man in a Chariot drawn by a single horse. But a passage of Julius Pollux\* affords an easy explanation, for it states that Anaxilas, a king of that city who died about 476 B. C., introduced *Hares* to that country, where they were not indigenous, conquered in the Olympic games, and inscribed a Hare and a Chariot on his coins.

To return to Greece proper. In the time of Homer we find no coined money, and nothing which leads a critic to infer its existence. Everything on the contrary opposes the supposition that money was known in his time. Oxen are often mentioned as the standard of value, though some have maintained that money with the figure of an ox was meant;† but this supposition is gratuitous. Wine was bought with Oxen, Brass, and Iron. In a word, there was no “medium of commerce;” Trade was only Barter.‡

According to the common chronology, Theseus began his reign about 1235 B. C., and Plutarch says he stamped money with the figure of an Ox. But the statement is incredible, for if money were at all known to the Greeks, in his time, it must

p. 260, viz. the twenty-ninth Olympiad, is notoriously incorrect. See Diodorus Sic. Lib. VI. p. 266, 281, Herodotus, Lib. VII. c. 165.

\* Lib. V. Ch. XII. § 75. as cited by Eckhel, Vol. I. p. 177.

† See Goguet de l' Origine des Lois, etc. Vol. II. Ep. II. Lib. IV. Ch. IV. p. 286 sq.

‡ Il. VII. 472 sq.

Ἐνθ' ἐν ἄρ' οἰνίζοντο καρηκόωντες Ἀχαιοί  
 Ἄλλοι μὲν χαλκῷ, ἄλλοι δ' αἰθωνί σιδήρῳ  
 Ἄλλοι δὲ ῥινόϊς, ἄλλοι δ' αὐτοῖσι βόεισιν  
 Ἄλλοι δ' ἀνδραπόδεσσι.

See also XXIII. 10. Od. L. 430. It is true Euripides, Cyclop. v. 159, makes Ulysses promise *money*, but this is a jest, or a mistake, a nod of the poet, to which there are many parallels in Virgil, e. g. *Æneid*, II. 313.

Exoritur clamorque virum, clangorque tubarum.

Homer never mentions the *trumpet*.

have been common in the age of Homer, and would be mentioned in his writings. Besides Plutarch, conscious of the mistakes and confusion in his life of Theseus, begs the reader to make allowance for the stories of antiquity. But even if the truth of Plutarch's statement is admitted, it does not affect the present question, for his money makes no claim to an inscription in letters.

But Lycurgus found money at Sparta in the ninth century B. C., for he excluded from circulation all gold and silver coins. But it is highly probable, the money he excluded, with that he permitted to circulate, consisted of pieces of a certain weight, and not of coined metal. His own money was estimated by weight and not by tale.\* Solon lived in the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century B. C. He found coined money in common use at Athens. The severity of his laws against "uttering spurious money," shows the extent of the evil and the commonness of coins, at his time. Now since the coins of Zancle and other cities in the Greek colonies, date back to this period and perhaps before it, it is highly probable that coins with written inscriptions were current in Greece some time before Solon. Eckhel, the most learned, acute and critical writer upon this subject, with whom we are acquainted, thinks metal was first coined in Greece, about the era of the Olympiads, and adds that all attempts to carry back the origin of coins with written inscriptions in Greece, beyond this date, are begun in error, and will end in disappointment.

Herodotus† ascribes the invention of gold and silver coins to the Lydians, and perhaps he is right; but little reliance it seems, ought to be placed on such random assertions. Pliny says the Romans received brass money from Numa;‡ but in another place, that Servius first coined brass, and that silver money was not used till after the defeat of Pyrrhus.§ Pliny the younger, says Cadmus, first coined gold, and Ionas (Itonus?) brass. Some authors refer the origin of money to Phido the Argive, as he is

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\* See the Pseudo-Plato in Eryxias. Vol. II. p. 900 of Steph.

† Lib. I. c. 94.

‡ H. N. Lib. XXXIV. 1.

§ H. N. XXXIII. 13. The Italian tribes, including the Romans, unlike other nations, coined brass before the simpler metals were used. The language still bears marks of the brazen age, e. g. *aes* for money, *aerarium* treasury, *aes alienum* debt, *vir aeratus* a moneyed man, etc. etc.

commonly called, who died about 854 B. C. But all these accounts rest mainly upon conjecture, and are of no authority. The oldest coins which have reached us from Greece proper are those of Amyntas I. of Macedonia. They belong to the sixth century B. C.\*

### 3. Use of letters in Greek inscriptions.

One source remains yet to be examined; the various inscriptions on funeral, religious and national monuments. It has already been observed that such inscriptions were unknown to Homer.† But Plutarch in his life of Theseus says that Hero erected a pillar on the Isthmus, and inscribed it with two verses, to distinguish the boundaries of Peloponnesus and Ionia. But since we find no mention of letters, and no allusion to them in the time of Homer, so long after Theseus, we may safely conclude that this is one of the numerous passages, in which this uncritical writer has not succeeded in “taking from fable its extravagance, nor in uniting popular names with credible history.”‡ Strabo speaks of this pillar, and says it stood till the time of Codrus (who died 1070 B. C.), when it was destroyed.

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\* Eckhel I. Proleg. p. 9. There are coins of Philip II. (died 358 B. C.) which are often erroneously referred to Philip I. (died 581 B. C.) Eckhel divides the history of coins into five epochs.

I. From unknown times to Alexander I. of Macedonia, 462 B. C. Coins of this epoch are few and very rude, and contain but few letters in the inscriptions.

II. To the reign of Philip II.

III. To the overthrow of the Roman Republic.

IV. To the times of Hadrian.

V. To Gallienus.

† Ovid, in speaking of ancient times, mentions tombs with inscriptions,

———Tumulo quoque *nomen* habente,  
Inferias dederat cum fratribus Hector inanes.

Met. Lib. XII. 2. See also XI. 429. But here he makes a very natural mistake, see Feithius on the Homeric Antiquities, Lib. I. Ch. XIV. and Lib. IV. Ch. VIII. IX. and XVII. in Gronovius' Thesaurus Gr. Vol. VI. Col. 3746 sq.

‡ Josephus, a far graver historian than Plutarch, makes a still greater mistake, for he says, in the time of Adam two pillars were erected to convey to posterity certain astronomical discoveries made by Seth. This is not all; he says one of them “remains in the land of Siriad to this day.” An'iq. Book I. Chap. II. § 3, at the end.

The testimony of these writers is very dubious in this matter, for the oldest of them lived more than eleven centuries after the time when the pillar is alleged to have been destroyed, and one confessedly derived his information from very suspicious sources,\* and entreats his reader's allowance for the tales of antiquity. A sagacious reader is at no loss, in such cases.

There is an inscription found in the ruins of Amycla in Lacedæmonia, which is supposed by some to be the most ancient document in the Greek language. Some refer it to the ninth or the twelfth century before Christ. An account of it may be seen in Gebelin, and in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inscriptions*. There are two tables, one evidently much older than the other. Both contain a list of priestesses who officiated in the temple, with the number of years their service continued. Both are written in the ancient Greek character, and are to be read alternately from left to right and from right to left. In one of them the two long vowels are supplied by the corresponding short vowels; *E* is doubled to express *H*. The Genitive in *ov* never occurs on the first table. These circumstances, at first view, lead one to ascribe a very high antiquity to the monument. Even Wolf, who doubted its antiquity, did not see clearly any decisive argument to be drawn from the monument itself. With him, the external objection prevailed, and he rejected its claims; and certainly, few who are acquainted with the history of art in Greece, will be ready to refer this to the twelfth century B. C.; and when we consider how few traces of writing we can find even in the seventh century, it shows a very uncritical hardihood, to place this in the ninth without the most convincing evidence for the fact. But there are decisive internal arguments against the antiquity of the stone. On the most modern of these tables a system of notation similar to that of the Romans is followed. *A* stands for ten, *AAA* for thirty, etc. This shows it cannot be very ancient. On the other, the letters of the alphabet are used as numerals, their value depending on their place in the alphabet; e. g. *A* one, *B* two, *I* ten, etc. *IA* eleven, etc. Now it is well known that there were not the same letters in the most ancient Greek alphabet as at the present. The following were the first ten, viz.

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\* See Plutarch, in the beginning of his life of Theseus; also Heeren on the sources of Plutarch's information, in the *Commentall. Nauticies*, Soc. Gott.



$\overline{A B \Gamma \Delta E F^* \Theta I K \Lambda}$ . It is admitted that  $Z$  and  $H$   
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10  
 were added later by Simonides.† There may still exist some doubt as to  $F$ , but it will not affect the present argument. If  $F$  is rejected, the argument will be still stronger. Now in this inscription  $I$  is the numeral for ten,  $K$  for twenty, etc. and hence it follows that the author of it was acquainted with the new letters  $Z$  and  $H$ , though he does not have occasion to use the numerals for which they stand, otherwise  $I$  is not the tenth, but the eighth letter, if  $F$  is admitted, or the seventh if it is rejected. This inscription, therefore, is evidently later than the time of Simonides, who flourished in the latter part of the sixth century before Christ. The author of the inscriptions appears to have imitated the ancient style of writing from right to left, and vice versa, but to have forgotten the ancient notation. Nemesis is never asleep.

There is another inscription, written in the alternate way, accompanied by a sculpture in bas-relief, representing a young man offering thanks to God. The inscription is "Mantheus, the son of Aithos, gives thanks to Jove for his victory in the Pentathlum," etc.‡ Extravagant pretensions have been made respecting the antiquity of this stone, but they are without foundation. For the Greeks were ignorant of bas-relief, says

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\* It may be doubted by some that the Eolic Digamma ever made part of the ancient alphabet, but it occurs in the celebrated Delian inscription, on many of the Italian coins, and in the Roman alphabet, which is evidently derived from the Greek. This character was probably pronounced variously by different tribes, sometimes like our  $H$  and sometimes like  $F$ . Its most ancient form may have been  $H$ , and we find it in this shape in the first inscription on the Sigean Marble. Finally the present sign of the aspirate took its place, and the  $F$  ceased to be a character in the common alphabet of the Greeks, but was still used in notation. A character called Episemia now takes its place in notation, and stands for six, which was formerly the value of  $F$ .

† Pliny, H. N. Lib. VII. ch. 56, says  $Z, H, \Phi$  and  $\Omega$  were added by Simonides, but Aristotle whom he cites, says  $\overline{A B \Gamma \Delta E Z I K}$ ,  
 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8  
 etc. formed the ancient alphabet, while  $\Theta$  and  $X$  were added by Epicharmus who lived in the fifth century B. C. Now the argument is irresistible if either of these statements is followed. On the use of Faw, Sanpi and Koppa, see Spanheim, ubi sup. Vol. I. p. 92.

‡ This inscription was found by Tournefort at Delos, on the base

Winkelman, till 580 B. C. The Pentathlum was not established till 496 B. C., and the Genitive formation in *ov* was not used till the third century B. C.\* Thus its alleged antiquity vanishes in a moment.

A celebrated inscription, though not in the Greek language, was discovered at Herculaneum. It is graven on the surface and edge of a stone table which served as an altar of libations. This also has been referred to a great antiquity. There are no means by which its exact age can be ascertained in the present state of the history of that city, but the letters are similar to those on the Italian coins of the third and fourth century B. C.†

From all that has been said, it appears there is no reason to believe letters were introduced to Greece before the ninth or eighth century before our era. The early accounts of their origin rest on such an uncertain basis that they cannot safely be trusted. Fact and fable are so closely united in them that they cannot be separated.

of a statue. It has been published by Montfaucon and by Gebelin, *ubi sup.* p. 475. In common letters it reads thus:

Μανθεος Αιθου ευ  
 { επε υδ ιετισιαχ  
 νικει πενταθλον  
 ροδιαπ }

\* See Chishull, *Antiq. Asiat.* p. 49. Spanheim, *ubi sup.* Vol. I. p. 115.

† See it in Gebelin *ubi sup.* Montfaucon said that in his time, nothing had been found among the Greek marbles older than two Athenian inscriptions which were written about 450 B. C., *ubi sup.* Lib. II. c. 10, p. 134. Yet Pausanias cited in Jackson, *ubi sup.* Vol. III. p. 185, says the ark in which Cypselus was concealed by his mother was inscribed with Hexameter verses written in the antique character, in boustrophedon. Pausanias thinks they were written by Evhemerus, 834 B. C. This story is a good match for the leaden Codex of the Works and Days of Hesiod, which the same accurate observer saw at a fountain in Boeotia. The wondering historian however adds in the former case, that he could not read them, the letters were so much defaced by time. Lib IX. 31. p. 771. The credulity of the Greeks is a proverb. "Graeculorum est," says Scaliger with equal justice and severity, "mentiri et falsa veris effingere." It is wonderful, says Pliny, to what a degree Greek credulity has proceeded. There is no lie so shameless that it lacks a voucher. "Tribuo illis literas; do multarum artium disciplinam.—testimoniarum religionem et fidem, nunquam ista natio coluit." Cicero, *Oratio pro Flaccum.* § 4.

Ancient writings, coins and monuments do not authorize the belief that letters were known to the inhabitants of Greece, Italy or the adjacent islands, anterior to the eighth century, certainly not before the ninth century B. C. Perhaps the Asiatic Greeks preceded the Europeans in all the arts; but Homer, who was probably connected with them by birth, and who was certainly familiar with all their customs and manners, never alludes to the use or existence of letters, or even of hieroglyphical characters. But on the contrary he leads us directly to infer that he and his countrymen were ignorant of alphabetical signs.

## II. USE OF LETTERS IN EGYPT.

1. There are no Egyptian coins now extant which belong to times before Alexander the Great.\* But the want of coins is abundantly supplied by other sources of information. Numerous rolls of papyrus, of uncertain antiquity, have been found in the sarcophagi, and under the bandages of the mummies. Dr. Young† published several Greek papyri. They are valuable and curious, and are unquestionably far older than any MS. previously known to be extant. But the oldest of them does not date earlier than the second century B. C.

2. Champollion found a roll of Papyrus at Aix in the collection of M. Sallier, containing a history of the wars of Sesostrius, or Rameses, who reigned in the fifteenth century B. C. It professes to be written in the ninth year of his reign.‡

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\* Discoveries in Hieroglyphical Literature, Lond. 1823.

† See Champollion, *Lettres Ecrites d' Egypte et de Nubie*, Paris, 1833, p. 21, 22. Greppos' *Essay on the Hieroglyphic System*, American translation, p. 176 sq. It is not for us to go behind M. Champollion and inquire if he *really* has in his hands a MS. written 3300 years before the date of his own work. We must abide by his decision. He promises to examine the MS. after his return from Egypt. We are ignorant of the result.

‡ Madame Barbier de Longpres (cited by Eckhel IV. Ch. I., who calls her *virago ornatissima*,) fancies she had in her possession a coin of one of the old Pharaohs, Diod. Sic. Lib. I. 78, says there were ancient laws relating to base money. But this probably was not coined money but bullion, which was estimated by weight. It does not appear the Egyptians had any coins in the time of Cambyzes, for he introduced Darics. The mythological coins with the image of the gods

“ Osiris, Orus, Apis, Isis,”

belong to the time of the Roman emperors. The same may be said

3. Egyptian monuments with inscriptions are abundant. But in this inquiry all monuments, which contain inscriptions written entirely in pictures, like the Mexican writings (if any such are found in Egypt) must be rejected. They shed no light on the origin of letters, though they show how men continued to dispute with them. This inquiry must be limited to the alphabetic writing.

Alphabetic inscriptions occur frequently on ancient Egyptian monuments.\* Their genuineness is beyond dispute. Some of these monuments with inscriptions were erected between 161 A. C. and 332 B. C. In these the proper names are written in alphabetic characters.†

On an alabaster vase is the name of Xerxes, who lived at least 460 B. C., with another inscription in the wedge-shaped character, still found in the ruins of Persepolis.‡ This monument is supposed to be contemporary with Xerxes. The name of Psammeticus is found on several monuments written in alphabetic characters. He lived 605 B. C., or if the first of that name is meant, 645 B. C., and the inscriptions were contemporary. Still further, the names of Petubastis, Osorthus and Psammus, (as the Greeks called them) have been found on funeral monuments, which were erected during the life-time of one of these kings, and have therefore at the lowest calculation, a date as old as 870 B. C.§ Sesonchis, (Shishak in Scripture,) also occurs in the alphabetic character. They reigned about 1000 B. C.|| But there are monuments still more ancient, with alphabetic inscriptions which were executed under the reign of the Pharaohs of the nineteenth dynasty, which ends, according to Manetho, about the time of the Trojan war. There are also some from the eighteenth dynasty, about 1800 B. C.¶

Rameses is an illustrious name in the history of the world, as well as in that of Egypt. His name is often found on those old monuments, and his conquests are detailed with great

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of all the coins of cities or provinces; they all bear the image and superscription of some one of the Caesars.

\* See the alphabets in Champollion's *Grammaire Egyptienne*, Part I. Paris, 1835.

† See Champollion, *Precis du Systeme Hieroglyphique*, Par. 1824, Chap. VIII. p. 175 sq.

‡ Ibid. p. 193—196. § Ibid. p. 196—203. || Ibid. 203—213.

¶ Ibid. p. 212—217 sq.



minuteness. There are three of this name who are known to history. But the great Rameses, whose exploits are celebrated in these monuments, is called Sethosis by Manetho, Sesosis by Diodorus Siculus, and Sesostris by Herodotus and Strabo. He lived about 1500 B. C.\* The temples and monuments that he erected are still very numerous in Egypt, and contain beautiful bas-reliefs and long inscriptions setting forth the extent of his conquests and the glory of his reign.† Champollion mentions many other old Egyptian kings whose names he has rescued from oblivion and restored to a place in authentic history, and adds, "It is proved by reading the names of all these Pharaohs, that the *sacred writings of the Egyptians*, the writing called hieroglyphic *was* phonetic [or *alphabetic*] during the greater part of the first reigns of the eighteenth dynasty, that is to say, in the eighteenth century before the christian era."‡ Again: "It is under the reign of the Pharaohs of this dynasty, that we must place the most brilliant epoch of the Egyptian monarchy. The first princes of this time expelled from lower and a portion of middle Egypt, those foreign hordes, known under the name of shepherds, and whom the Egyptians called Hyksos, that is, shepherd-captives.§ They restored their liberty, laws and religion, to a portion of the Egyptian nation, which for several centuries had groaned under the tyranny of these barbarians. It is also to kings of this family that Thebes owes all the splendor, which now, though in ruins, strikes travellers with admiration and awe. The vast palaces and temples of Karnac, Luxor, and Medina-Tabou, of Kourna, those which still exist at Memnonium, and Medamond, were built and adorned under the reign of these princes. These are the works, which prove to a certainty the high antiquity of Egyptian civilization and the high degree of advancement, that the arts and sciences attained in these ages far from us. These prove irrefutably that the Egyptians preceded other celebrated nations, and this historic antiquity will henceforth repose on an unshaken foundation, for it is based on public monuments, whose testimo-

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\* Ibid. p. 212—225.

† Champollion, Lettres, etc. Lettre 14 and 18.

‡ Precis, p. 242.

§ See the interesting chapter in Ammon's Fort bildung des Christenthum, on the Mosaic age according to the accounts of heathen historians.

ny cannot be refuted, and the most considerable of which, the great palace at Karnac,—continued, enlarged and adorned, for eleven centuries,—bears successively in its various parts, the royal legends of the greatest princes who have reigned in Egypt, from Amenophis I., of the eighteenth dynasty (about 1800 B. C.)\* to Psammeticus and others, kings of the twenty-sixth dynasty.

These relics of olden time corroborate the testimony of Manetho, and fully establish the fact that eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, the art of alphabetic writing on stone was practised and carried to a degree of perfection which was never surpassed even in the palmy days of Greek-Egyptian art. The scanty remnants of Egyptian art, which have reached us from the twentieth century B. C., an age, of which they are the only survivors, except traditions which it is as impossible to verify as to refute—show by the comparative rudeness both of the sculptures and the inscriptions, that the arts were then in their infancy. Writing was probably passing from the picture to the alphabetic letter.† The manuscripts which have come down from ages not much later, afford a positive proof, not only that these characters can be used in writing books, but that they actually were so used. But even if it could be proved that these manuscripts are spurious, the fact of the existence of manuscripts in the seventeenth or eighteenth century B. C. is established by the representations of writers, and all their usual implements, still extant in the old bas-reliefs.‡

It is not necessary to pursue this investigation further. The design of this essay was to show that writing was known or

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\* *Precis* p. 242 sq.

† It may be asked with seeming pertinency, why the spirited Greeks were so long without alphabetic writings when the Egyptians carried the art to such perfection twelve centuries before Zaleucus? This question must be left with its propounders.

‡ The genuineness of these MSS. or Papyri, may perhaps be doubted by some, though the authority of M. Champollion is almost decisive, but even if no MS. had reached us, the slightest inspection of the cursive character in his *grammaire Egyptienne*, will convince any one, that it could be applied to ordinary writing. Indeed we are told that Billet-doux in the Egyptian character were “currently reciprocated” among the *Petits-Maitres* and their fair coadjutors in Paris a few years since. A very readable text in this character may be seen in Champollion’s *Pantheon Egyptien*, *Livraison XII*.

was not known in the time of Moses, so that the direct inquiry upon the genuineness of the Pentateuch may not be encumbered by any uncertainty attending the previous question. The subject has not been pursued through the broad and uncertain fields of Hindoo or Chinese literature and history, because the question is determined by the history of Egypt alone, and because the present state of our knowledge of the literature of the South and East of Asia renders such inquiries unsatisfactory and their results worthless, unless the writers are familiar with the languages of that region. Enough, it is trusted, has been obtained to prove that letters were well known in Egypt in the time of Moses, and therefore that he who was educated in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, was able to write the Pentateuch in Egyptian characters. If the Pentateuch were shown to be the work of a later age, we think that no argument to that effect could be derived from the state of alphabetic writing in those times.

## ARTICLE V.

### NORMAL SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS' SEMINARIES.

By Calvin E. Stowe, D. D., Prof. of Bibl. Literature, Lane Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Ich versprach Gott: Ich will jedes preussische Bauerkind für ein Wesen ansehen, das mich bei Gott verklagen kann, wenn ich ihm nicht die beste Menschen- und Christen-Bildung schaffe, die ich ihm zu schaffen vermag.

I promised God, that I would look upon every Prussian peasant child as a being who could complain of me before God, if I did not provide for him the best education as a man and a Christian, which it was possible for me to provide.

*Dinter's Letter to Baron von Altenstein.*

WHEN the benevolent Franke turned his attention to the subject of popular education in the city of Hamburg, late in the seventeenth century, he soon found that children could not be well taught without good teachers, and that but few good teachers could be found unless they were regularly trained for the profession. Impressed with this conviction he bent all his energies towards the establishment of a Teachers' Seminary, in

which he finally succeeded, at Halle in Prussia about the year 1704 ; and from this first institution of the kind in Europe well qualified teachers were soon spread over all the north of Germany, who prepared the way for that great revolution in public instruction which has since been so happily accomplished under the auspices of Frederick William III. and his praiseworthy coadjutors. Every enlightened man, who since the time of Franke has in earnest turned his attention to the same subject, has been brought to the same result ; and the recent movements in France, in Scotland ; in Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Ohio, and other states in the American Union, all attest the very great difficulty, if not entire impossibility, of carrying out an efficient system of public instruction without seminaries expressly designed for the preparation of teachers.

Having devoted some attention to this subject, and having spent considerable time in examining institutions of the kind already established in Europe, I propose in this paper to exhibit the result of my investigations. In exhibiting this result, I have thought proper to draw out somewhat in detail, what I suppose would be the best plan, on the whole, without expecting that all parts of the plan, in the present state of education in our country, will be carried into immediate execution. I propose what I think ought to be aimed at, and what I doubt not will ultimately be attained, if the spirit which is now awake on the subject, be not suffered again to sleep.

The sum of what I propose is contained in the six following propositions, namely :

I. The interests of popular education in each State demand the establishment, at the seat of government and under the patronage of the legislature, of a **NORMAL SCHOOL**,\* that is, a *Teachers' Seminary and model school*, for the instruction and practice of teachers in the science of education and the art of teaching.

II. Pupils should not be received into the Teachers' Seminary under sixteen years of age, nor until they are well versed in all the branches usually taught in the common schools.

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\* The French adjective *normal* is derived from the Latin noun *norma*, which signifies a carpenter's square, a rule, a pattern, a model ; and the very general use of this term to designate institutions for the preparation of teachers, leads us at once to the idea of a *model school for practice* as an essential constituent part of a *Teachers' Seminary*.



III. The model school should comprise the various classes of children usually admitted to the common schools, and should be subject to the same general discipline and course of study.

IV. The course of instruction in the Teachers' Seminary should include three years, and the pupils be divided into three classes accordingly.

V. The senior class in the Teachers' Seminary should be employed, under the immediate instruction of their professors, as instructors in the model school.

VI. The course of instruction in the Teachers' Seminary should comprise lectures and recitations on the following topics, together with such others as further observation and experience may show to be necessary :

1) A thorough, scientific and demonstrative study of all the branches to be taught in the common schools, with directions at every step as to the best method of inculcating each lesson upon children of different dispositions and capacities and various intellectual habits.

2) The philosophy of mind, particularly in reference to its susceptibility of receiving impressions from mind.

3) The peculiarities of intellectual and moral development in children, as modified by sex, parental character, wealth or poverty, city or country, family government indulgent or severe, fickle or steady, etc. etc.

4) The science of education in general, and full illustrations of the difference between education and mere instruction.

5) The art of teaching.

6) The art of governing children, with special reference to imparting and keeping alive a feeling of love for children.

7) History of education, including an accurate outline of the educational systems of different ages and nations, the circumstances which gave rise to them, the principles on which they were founded, the ends which they aimed to accomplish, their successes and failures, their permanency and changes, how far they influenced individual and national character, how far any of them might have originated in premeditated plan on the part of their founders, whether they secured the intelligence, virtue and happiness of the people, or otherwise, with the causes, etc.

8) The rules of health and the laws of physical development.

9) Dignity and importance of the teacher's office.

10) Special religious obligations of teachers in respect to be-

nevolent devotedness to the intellectual and moral welfare of society, habits of entire self-control, purity of mind, elevation of character, etc.

11) The influence which the school should exert on civilization and the progress of society.

12) The elements of Latin, together with the German, French, and Spanish languages.

On each of the topics above enumerated, I shall attempt to offer such remarks as may be necessary to their more full development and illustration; and then state the argument in favor of, and answer the objections which may be urged against the establishment of such an institution as is here contemplated.

To begin with the first proposition.

I. The interests of popular education in each State demand the establishment, at the seat of government, and under the patronage of the legislature, of a Normal School, that is, a Teachers' Seminary and model school, for the instruction and practice of teachers in the science of education and art of teaching.

If there be necessity for such an institution, there can be little doubt that the legislature should patronize and sustain it; for new as our country is, and numerous as are the objects to which individual capital must be applied, there can be no great hope, for many years to come, of seeing such institutions established and supported by private munificence. It is a very appropriate object of legislative patronage; for, as the advantages of such an institution are clearly open to all the citizens of the State and equally necessary to all, it is right that each should sustain his proper share of the expense.

Reserving my general argument in favor of these establishments till after a more full development of their object, organization, and course of study, I shall confine my remarks under this head to the subject of legislative patronage, and the influence which such an institution would exert, through the legislature and other officers of government, on the people at large. And in order that the institution may exert the influence here contemplated, it will appear obviously necessary that it be placed at the seat of government.

Popular legislators ought to have some objects in view besides the irritating and often petty questions of party politics. Any observing man, who has watched the progress of popular legislation among us, cannot but have noticed the tendency of continued and uninterrupted party bickering to narrow the mind

and sour the temper of political men, to make them selfish, unpatriotic and unprincipled. It is highly necessary for their improvement as men and as republican lawgivers, that the bitterness and bigotry of party strife should sometimes be checked by some great object of public utility, in which good men of all parties may unite, and the contemplation and discussion of which shall enlarge the views and elevate the affections. The legislatures of several States have already had experience of these benefits. The noble institutions for deaf mutes, for the blind, and for the insane which have grown up under their care and been sustained by their bounty, are not less beneficial by the moral influence they exert every year on the officers of government who witness their benevolent operations, than by the physical and intellectual blessings which they confer on the unfortunate classes of persons for whom they were more particularly designed. Who can witness the proficiency of the blind and the mute in that knowledge which constitutes the charm of life, as witnessed in the annual exhibitions of these institutions at Columbus, during the sessions of the legislature, without feeling the blessedness of benevolence, and inwardly resolving to be himself benevolent? Without some such objects in view, political character deteriorates, and the legislator sinks to the demagogue. When our American Congress has had noble objects in view ; when it has been struggling for the rights of man, and the great principles which are the foundation of free institutions, it has been the nursery of patriotism and the theatre of great thoughts and mighty deeds ; but when its objects have been mean and its aims selfish, how sad the reverse in respect to its moral character and national influence !

Colleges and institutions for the higher branches of classical learning have seldom flourished in this country under legislative patronage ; because the people at large, not perceiving that these institutions are directly beneficial to them, allow their legislators to give them only a hesitating, reluctant and insufficient support. No steady, well-digested plan of improvement is carried consistently through, but the measures are vacillating, contradictory, and often destructive, not from want of sagacity to perceive what is best, but simply from want of interest in the object and a consequent determination to maintain it at the cheapest rate. But an institution of the kind here contemplated the people at large will feel to be for their immediate benefit. It is to qualify teachers for the instruction of their own



children ; and among the people throughout most of the free States there is an appreciation of the advantages and necessity of good common school instruction, which makes them willing to incur heavy sacrifices for the sake of securing it. They will, therefore, cheerfully sustain their legislators in any measure which is seen to be essential to the improvement and perfection of the common school system ; and that the establishment of a Normal School is essential to this, I expect to prove in the course of this discussion.

Supposing the institution to be established at the seat of government under proper auspices, the legislature would every year witness its beneficial results ; they would attend the exhibition of its pupils both in the seminary and in the model-school, as they now in several States attend the exhibitions of the blind and mute ; their views would be enlarged, their affections moved, their ideas of what constitutes good education settled ; they would return to their constituents full of zeal and confidence in the educational cause, and impart the same to them ; they would learn how schools ought to be conducted, the respective duties of parents, teachers, and school officers ; they would become the most efficient missionaries of public instruction ; and ere long one of the most important errands from their constituents would be to find for them in the Teachers' Seminary a suitable instructor for their district school. Such an influence will be to the school system what electricity is to the operations of nature, an influence unceasing, all-pervading, lightning-winged.

The superintendent of public instruction, in every State, would be essentially aided by such an institution at the seat of government. He greatly needs it as a fulcrum to pry over, when he would move the legislature or the people. He cannot bring the legislature to the common schools nor these to the legislature, to illustrate existing deficiencies or recommend improvements ; but here is a model constructed under his own eye, which he can at any moment exhibit to the legislature, and by which he can give complete illustrations of all his views.

As the young men in the seminary grow up, he watches their progress, and ascertains the peculiar qualifications and essential characteristics of each individual ; and as he passes through the State and learns the circumstances and wants of each community, he knows where to find the teacher best fitted to carry out his views and give efficiency to the system in each



particular location. Nothing is lost ; the impression which he makes is immediately followed up and deepened by the teacher, before it has time to cool and disappear. A superintendent of schools without a Teachers' Seminary is a general without soldiers, depending entirely on the services of such volunteers as he can pick up on his march, most of whom enlist but for the day and go home to sleep at night.

Such is a brief view of the reasons for legislative patronage and a location at the seat of government. I do not imagine that one institution will be enough to supply the wants of a whole State ; but let *THE ONE* be established first, and whatever others are needful will speedily follow.

We now proceed to our second general proposition.

II. Pupils should not be received into the Teachers' Seminary under sixteen years of age, nor until they are well versed in all the branches usually taught in the common schools.

The age at which the pupils leave the common school is the proper age for entering the Teachers' Seminary, and the latter should begin just where the former closes. This is young enough, for few persons have their judgments sufficiently matured or their feelings under sufficient control to engage in school teaching by themselves, before they are twenty years old. It is not the design of the Teachers' Seminary to go through the common routine of the common school course, but a thorough grounding in this is to be assumed as the foundation on which to erect the structure of the teacher's education.

III. The model school should comprise the various classes of children usually admitted to the common schools, and should be subject to the same general discipline and course of study.

The model school, as its name imports, is to be a model of what the common school ought to be ; and it must be, therefore, composed of like materials and subject to similar rules. The model school in fact should be the common school of the place in which the Teachers' Seminary is situated ; it should aim to keep in advance of every other school in the State, and every other school in the State should aim to keep up with that. It is a model for the constant inspection of the pupils in the teachers' department, a practical illustration of the lessons they receive from their professors ; the proof-stone by which they are to test the utility of the abstract principles they imbibe, and on which they are to exercise and improve their gifts of teaching. Indeed, as school-counsellor Dinter told a nobleman of East

Prussia, to set up a Teachers' Seminary without a model school is like setting up a shoe-maker's shop without leather.

IV. The course of instruction in the Teachers' Seminary should include three years, and the pupils be divided into three classes accordingly.

The course of study, as will be seen by inspecting it in the following pages, cannot well be completed in less time than this ; this has been found short enough for professional study in the other professions, which is generally commenced at a maturer age and after the pupil has had the advantage of an academical or collegiate course ; and if it is allowed that five or seven years are not too much to be spent in acquiring the trade of a blacksmith, a carpenter, or any of the common indispensable handicrafts, surely three years will not be deemed too much for the difficult and most important art of teaching.

V. The senior class in the Teachers' Seminary should be employed under the immediate inspection of their professors, as instructors in the model school. The model school is intended to be not only an illustration of the principles inculcated theoretically in the seminary, but is calculated also as a school for practice, in which the seminary pupils may learn by actual experiment the practical bearing of the principles which they have studied. After two years of theoretical study, the pupils are well qualified to commence this practical course under the immediate inspection of their professors ; and the model school being under the inspection of such teachers, it is obvious that its pupils can suffer no loss, but must be great gainers by the arrangement.

This is a part of the system for training teachers which cannot be dispensed with and any considerable hope of success retained. To attempt to train practical teachers without it, would be like attempting to train sailors by keeping boys upon Bowditch's Navigator, without ever suffering them to go on board a ship or handle a rope-yarn. One must begin to teach, before he can begin to be a teacher ; and it is infinitely better, both for himself and his pupils, that he should make this beginning under the eye of an experienced teacher, who can give him directions and point out his errors, than that he should blunder on alone at the risk of ruining multitudes of pupils before he can learn to teach by the slow process of unaided experience.

VI. Course of instruction in the Teachers' Seminary. (1  
SECOND SERIES, VOL. II. NO. III.

A thorough, scientific and demonstrative study of all the branches to be taught in the common schools, with directions at every step as to the best method of inculcating each lesson on children of different dispositions and capacities, and various intellectual habits.

It is necessary here to give a general outline of a course of study for the common schools of this country. The pupils annually in attendance are between the ages of six and sixteen, and I would arrange them in three divisions, as follows:

FIRST DIVISION, including the youngest children and those least advanced, generally between the ages of 6 and 9.

### *Topics of Instruction.*

1) Familiar conversational teaching, in respect to objects which fall daily under their notice, and in respect to their moral and social duties, designed to awaken their powers of observation and expression, and to cultivate their moral feelings.

2) Elements of reading.

3) Elements of writing.

4) Elements of numbers.

5) Exercises of the voice and ear—singing by rote.

6) Select readings in the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospels.

SECOND DIVISION, including those more advanced, and generally between the ages of 9 and 12.

### *Topics of Instruction.*

1) Exercises in reading.

2) Exercises in writing.

3) Arithmetic.

4) Elements of Geography, and Geography of the United States.

5) History of the United States.

6) Moral and religious instruction in select Bible narratives, parables, and proverbs.

7) Elements of music and singing by note.

8) English Grammar and parsing.

THIRD DIVISION, most advanced, and generally between the ages of 12 and 16.

### *Topics of Instruction.*

1) Exercises in reading and elocution.

- 2) Caligraphy, stenography, and linear drawing.
- 3) Algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, with their application to civil engineering, surveying, etc.
- 4) English composition, forms of business, and book-keeping.
- 5) General geography, or knowledge of the earth and of mankind.
- 6) General history.
- 7) Constitution of the United States, and the several States.
- 8) Elements of the natural sciences, including their application to the arts of life, such as agriculture, manufactures, etc.
- 9) Moral instruction in the connected Bible history, the life and discourses of Christ, the religious observation of nature, and history of Christianity.
- 10) Science and art of vocal and instrumental music.

Thorough instruction on all these topics I suppose to be essential to a complete common-school education, and though it may be many years before our schools come up to this standard, yet I think nothing short of this should satisfy us; and as fast as possible we should be laboring to train teachers capable of giving instruction in all these branches. When this standard for the common school has been attained, then, before the pupil is prepared to enter on the three years' course of study proposed in the Teachers' Seminary, he must have studied all the topics above enumerated, as they ought to be studied in the common schools.

The study of a topic, however, for the purpose of applying it to practical use, is not always the same thing as studying it for the purpose of teaching it. The processes are often quite different. A man may study music till he can perform admirably himself, and yet possess very little skill in teaching others; and it is well known that the most successful orators are not unfrequently the very worst teachers of elocution. The process of learning for practical purposes is mostly that of combination or synthesis; but the process of learning for the purpose of teaching, is one of continued and minute analysis, not only of the subject itself, but of all the movements and turnings of the *feelers* of the mind, the little *antennae* by which it seizes and retains its hold of the several parts of a topic. Till a man can minutely dissect not only the subject itself, but also the intellectual machinery by which it is worked up, he cannot be very successful as a teacher. The orator analyzes his subject, and disposes its several parts in the order best calculated for



effect ; but the mental processes by which he does this, which constitute the tact that enables him to judge right as if by instinct, are generally so rapid, so evanescent, that it may be impossible for him to recall them so as to describe them to another ; and it is this very rapidity of intellectual movement, which gives him success as an orator, that renders it the more difficult for him to succeed as a teacher. The musician would perform very poorly, who should stop to recognize each volition that moves the muscles which regulate the movement of his fingers on the organ keys ; but he who would teach others to perform gracefully and rapidly, must give attention to points minute as these. The teacher must stop to observe and analyze each movement of the mind itself as it advances on every topic ; but men of genius for execution and of great practical skill, who never teach, are generally too impatient to make this minute analysis, and often indeed form such habits as at length to become incapable of it. The first Duke of Marlborough was one of the most profound and brilliant military men that ever lived ; but he had been so little accustomed to observe the process of his own mind, by which he arrived with such certainty at those astounding results of warlike genius which have given him the first rank among Britain's soldiers, that he could seldom construct a connected argument in favor of his plans, and generally had but one answer to all the objections which might be urged against them, and that was usually repeated in the same words, "Silly, silly, that's silly." A like remark is applicable to Oliver Cromwell, and several other men distinguished for prompt and energetic action. The mental habits best adapted for effect in the actual business of life are not always the mental habits best suited to the teacher ; and the Teachers' Seminary requires a mode of instruction in some respects different from the practical school.

The teacher also must review the branches of instruction above enumerated with reference to their scientific connections and a thorough demonstration of them, which though not always necessary in respect to their practical application to the actual business of life, is absolutely essential to that ready command which a teacher must have over them in order to put them into the minds of others.

Nor is this all, There is great variety of methods for inculcating the same truth ; and the diversities of mind are quite as numerous as the varieties of method. One mind can be best approached by one method, and another mind by another ;

and in respect to the teacher, one of the richest treasures of experience is a knowledge of the adaptation of the different methods to different minds. These rich treasures of experience can be preserved and classified and imparted in the Teachers' Seminary. If the teacher never studies his profession, he learns this part of his duties only by the slow and wasteful process of experimenting on mind, and thus in all probability ruining many before he learns how to deal with them. Could we ascertain how many minds have been lost to the world in consequence of the injudicious measures of inexperienced and incompetent teachers, if we could exhibit in a statistical table the number of souls which must be used up in qualifying a teacher for his profession by entrusting him with its active duties without previous study; we could prove incontrovertibly that it is great want of economy, that it is a most prodigious waste, to attempt to carry on a system of schools without making provision for the education of teachers.

2) The philosophy of mind, particularly in reference to its susceptibility of receiving impressions from mind.

The teacher should learn at least not to spoil by his awkward handling what nature has made well; he should know how to preserve the intellectual and moral powers in a healthful condition, if he be not capable of improving them. But through ignorance of the nature of mind and its susceptibilities, how often are a teacher's most industrious efforts worse than thrown away—perverting and destroying rather than improving? Frequently also the good which is gained by judicious efforts in one direction, is counteracted by a mistaken course in another.

Under this head there should be a complete classification of the sources of influence, a close analysis of the peculiar nature and causes of each, and of its applicability to educational purposes. There should be also a classification of the errors liable to be committed, with a similar analysis and directions for avoiding them. It appears to me that there are some valuable discoveries yet to be made in this branch of knowledge; and that for the purposes of education the powers of the mind are susceptible of a classification much better than that which has hitherto generally been adopted.

3) The peculiarities of intellectual and moral development in children, as modified by sex, parental character, wealth or poverty, city or country, family government indulgent or severe, fickle or steady, etc.

These diversities all exist in every community, and exert a most important influence on the developments of children, and no teacher can discharge his duties diligently and thoroughly without recognizing this extensive class of influences. The influence of sex is one of the most obvious, and no successful teacher, I believe, ever manages the boys and the girls of his school in precisely the same manner. But the other sources of influence are no less important. Parental character is one. Parents of high-minded and honorable feeling, will be likely to impart something of the same spirit to their children. Such children may be easily governed by appeals to their sense of character, and perhaps ruined by the application of the rod. If parents are mean-spirited and selfish, great allowance should be made for the failings of their children, and double diligence employed to cultivate in them a sense of honor.

The different circumstances of wealth and poverty produce great differences in children. The rich child generally requires restraint, the poor one, encouragement. When the poor are brought in contact with the rich, it is natural that the former should feel somewhat sensitive as to the distinctions which may obtain between them and their fellows; and in such cases special pains should be taken to shield the sensibilities of the poor child against needless wounds, and make him feel that the poverty for which he is no way blamable is not to him a degradation. Otherwise he may become envious and misanthropic, or be discouraged and unmanned. But how often does the reverse of this take place, to the great injury of the character both of the poor and the rich! Surely it is misfortune enough to the suffering child that he has to bear the ills arising from ignorance or negligence, vice or poverty, in his parents; and the school should be a refuge for him, where he can improve himself and be happy.

Again, city and country produce diversities in children almost as great as the difference of sex. City children are inclined to the ardent, quick, glowing temperament of the female; country children lean more to the cooler, steadier, slower development of the male. City children are more excitable; by the circumstances in which they are placed, their feelings are kept in more constant and rapid motion, they are more easily moved to good, and have stronger temptation to evil; while country children, less excitable, less rapid in their advances towards either good or evil, present in their peculiarities a broad and solid founda-

tion for characters of stable structure and enduring usefulness. Though human nature is everywhere the same, and schools present the same general characteristics; yet the good country teacher, if he remove to the city and would be equally successful there, will find it necessary to adopt several modifications of his former arrangements.

Many other circumstances give rise to diversities no less important. It is the business of the Teachers' Seminary to arrange and classify these modifying influences, and give to the pupil the advantages of an anticipated experience in respect to his method of proceeding in regard to them. No one will imagine that the teacher is to let his pupils see that he recognizes such differences among them; he should be wise enough to keep his own counsel and deal with each individual in such manner as the peculiar circumstances of each may render most productive of good.

4) The science of education in general, and full illustration of the difference between education and mere instruction.

Science, in the modern acceptation of the term, is a philosophical classification and arrangement of all the facts which are observed in respect to any subject, and an investigation from these facts of the principles which regulate their occurrence. Education affords its facts, and they are as numerous and as deeply interesting as the facts of any other science; these facts are susceptible of as philosophical a classification and arrangement as the facts of chemistry or astronomy; and the principles which regulate their occurrence are as appropriate and profitable a subject of investigation as the principles of botany or zoology, or of politics or morals. I know it has been said by some, that education is not a science, and cannot be reduced to scientific principles; but they who talk thus either make use of words without attaching to them any definite meaning, or they confound the idea of education with that of the mere art of teaching. Even in this sense the statement is altogether erroneous, as will be shown under the next head.

The teacher should be acquainted with these facts, with their classification, their arrangement and principles, before he enters on the duties of his profession; or he is like the surgeon who would operate on the human body before he has studied anatomy, or the attorney who would commence practice before he has made himself acquainted with the first principles of law.

It is a common error to confound education with mere instruc-



tion ; an error so common indeed, that many writers on the subject use the words as nearly if not entirely synonymous. Instruction, however, comprehends but a very small part of the general idea of education. Education includes all the extraneous influences which combine to the formation of intellectual and moral character ; while instruction is limited to that which is directly communicated from one mind to another. “ *Education* and *instruction* (says Hooker) are the means, the one by *use*, the other by *precept*, to make our natural faculty of reason both the better and the sooner to judge rightly between truth and error, good and evil.” A man may become well *educated*, though but poorly *instructed*, as was the case with Pascal and Franklin, and many others equally illustrious ; but if a man is well *instructed* he cannot without some great fault of his own, fail to acquire a good *education*. *Instruction* is mostly the work of others ; *education* depends mainly on the use which we ourselves make of the circumstances by which we are surrounded. The mischiefs of defective *instruction* may often be repaired by our own subsequent efforts ; but a gap left down in the line of our *education* is not so easily put up, after the opportunity has once passed by.

5) The art of teaching.

The *art* of teaching, it is true, is not a *science*, and cannot be learned by theoretic study alone, without practice. The *model school* is appropriately the place for the acquisition of this art by actual practice ; but like all the rational arts it rests on scientific principles. The theoretical instruction, therefore, in this branch, will be limited mainly to a development of the principles on which it is founded ; while the application of those principles will be illustrated and the art of teaching acquired by instructing in the model school under the care of the professors, and subject to their direction and remarks. The professor assigns to the pupil his class in the model school, he observes his manner of teaching, and notices its excellencies and defects ; and after the class is dismissed and the student is with him alone or in company only with his fellow students, he commends what he did well, shows him how he might have made the imperfect better, and the erroneous correct, pointing out as he proceeds, the application of theoretic principles to practice, that the lessons in the model school may be really an illustration of all that has been taught in the Teachers’ Seminary.

6) The art of governing children, with special reference to

the imparting and keeping alive of a feeling of love for children.

Children can be properly governed only by affection, and affection rightly directed is all-powerful for this purpose. A school governed without love is a gloomy, mind-killing place; it is like a nursery of tender blossoms filled with an atmosphere of frost and ice. Affection is the natural magnet of the mind in childhood; the child's mind is fitted by its Creator to be moved by a mother's love; and cold indifference or stern lovelessness repels and freezes it. In governing children there is no substitute for affection, and God never intended there should be any.

General rules can be given for the government of a school, the results of experience can be treasured up, systematized, and imparted; the candidate for the teacher's office can be exercised to close observation, patience, and self-control; and all these are essential branches of instruction in the art of governing. Still, if there be no feeling of love for children, all this will not make a good school governor. There is great natural diversity in individuals in regard to this as in all other affections; yet every one whom God has fitted to be a parent has the elements of this affection, and these elements are susceptible of development and improvement.

7) History of education, including an accurate outline of the educational systems of different ages and nations, the circumstances which gave rise to them, the principles on which they were founded, the ends which they aimed to accomplish, their successes and failures, their permanency and changes, how far they influenced individual and national character; how far any of them might have originated in premeditated plan on the part of their founders, whether they secured the intelligence, virtue and happiness of the people, or otherwise, with the causes, etc.

To ensure success in any pursuit, the experience of our predecessors is justly considered a valuable and generally an indispensable aid. What should we think of one who claimed to be a profound politician while ignorant of the history of political science, while unacquainted with the origin of governments, the causes which have modified their forms and influences, the changes which have taken place in them, the different effects produced by various systems under diverse influences, and of the thousand combinations in which the past treasures wisdom for the future? What should we think of the lawyer who

knew nothing of the history of law? or of the astronomer ignorant of the history of astronomy? In every science and every art we recognize the value of its appropriate history, and there is not a single circumstance that gives value to such history, which does not apply in all its force to the history of education. Yet, strange to say, the history of education is entirely neglected among us; there is not a work devoted to the subject in the English language; and very few indeed which contain even notices or hints to guide one's inquiries on this deeply interesting theme. I wish some of those writers who complain that education is a *hackneyed* subject, a subject so often and so much discussed that nothing new remains to be said upon it, would turn their inquiries in this direction, and I think they will find much, and that too of the highest utility, which will be entirely new to the greater part even of the reading population.

Man has been an educator ever since he became civilized. A great variety of systems of public instruction have been adopted and sustained by law, which have produced powerful and enduring influences; and are we to set sail on this boundless ocean entirely ignorant of the courses and soundings and discoveries of our predecessors?

The Hebrew nation in its very origin was subjected to a premeditated and thoroughly systematized course of national instruction, which produced the most wonderful influence and laid the foundation for that peculiar hardihood and determinateness of character, which has made them the astonishment of all ages, a miracle among nations. A full development of this system and a careful illustration of the particulars which gave it its peculiar strength, and of the circumstances which perverted it from good to evil, which turned strength into the force of hate, and perseverance into obstinacy, would be a most valuable contribution to the science of general education. The ancient Persians and Hindoos had ingenious and thoroughly digested systems of public instruction, entirely diverse from each other, yet each wonderfully efficacious in its own peculiar way. The Greeks were a busily educating people, and great varieties of systems sprung up in their different states and under their different masters, all of them ingenious, most of them effective, and some of them characterized by the highest excellencies. Systems which we cannot and ought not imitate, may be highly useful as warnings, and to prevent our trying experiments which have been often tried before, and failed to be useful.



The Chinese, for example, have had for ages a system which is peculiarly and strictly *national*; its object has always been to make them *Chinese*, and nothing else; it has fully answered the purpose intended; and what has been the result? \* A nation of machines, a people of patterns made to order, a set of men and women wound up like clocks to go in a certain way and for a certain time, with minds wonderfully nice and exact in certain little things; but as stiff, as insusceptible of expansion, as incapable of originating thought or deviating from the beaten track, as one of their own graven images is of navigating a ship. In short, they are very much such a people as the Americans might become in a few centuries, if some amiable enthusiasts could succeed in establishing what they are pleased to denominate a system exclusively *American*. Education, to be useful, must be expansive, must be universal; the mind must not be trained to run in one narrow channel; it must understand that human beings have thought and felt and acted in other countries than its own; that the results of preceding efforts have their value, and that all light is not confined to its own little Goshen.

When a science has become fixed as to its principles, when its facts are ascertained and well settled, then its history is generally written. Why, then, have we no history of education in our language? Simply because the science of education with us is yet in its infancy; because so far from being a hackneyed or an exhausted subject, on which nothing new remains to be said, its fundamental principles are not yet so ascertained as to become the basis of a fixed science. It cannot be pretended that there are no materials for the composition of such a history. We are not destitute of information respecting the educational systems of the most ancient nations, as the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Egyptians, and Carthaginians; and in respect to the Hindoos, the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, the Chinese, the modern Europeans, the materials for their educational history are nearly as ample as those for their civil history; and the former is quite as important to the educator as the latter is to the civilian. The brief and imperfect but highly interesting sketches given by Sharon Turner in his history of England, afford sufficient proof of my assertion; and they are to a full history of English education as the first streaks of dawn to the risen sun. Should Teachers' Seminaries do nothing else than excite

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\* See Note A, at the close of this Article.



a taste and afford the materials for the successful pursuit of this branch of study only, they would more than repay all the cost of their establishment and maintenance. Systems of education which formed and trained such minds as arose in Egypt, in Judea, in Greece, systems under whose influence such men as Moses and Isaiah, Solon and Plato and Paul received those first impressions which had such commanding power over their mighty intellects, may afford to us many valuable suggestions; and the several topics to which I have above alluded as particularly worthy of notice in a history of those systems, are too obviously important to require a separate illustration.

8) The rules of health and the laws of physical development.

The care of the body while we are in this world is not less important than the culture of the mind; for as a general fact no mind can work vigorously in a feeble and comfortless body, and when the fore-castle of a vessel sinks, the cabin must soon follow. The educating period of youth is the time most critical to health, and the peculiar excitements and temptations of a course of study add greatly to the natural dangers of the forming and developing season of life. Teachers, therefore, especially, should understand the rules of health and the laws of physical development; and it is impossible that they should understand them, unless they devote some time to their study. What a ruinous waste of comfort, of strength, and of life has there been in our educational establishments, in consequence of the ignorance and neglect of teachers on this point! And how seldom is this important branch of study ever thought of as a necessary qualification for the office of teacher!

As it is a most sacred duty of the teacher to preserve uninjured the powers of the mind and keep them in a healthful condition, so it is no less his duty to take the same care of the physical powers. The body should not only be kept in health, but its powers should be developed and improved with as much care as is devoted to the improvement of the mind, that all the capabilities of the man may be brought out and fitted for active duty. But can one know how to do this if he never learns? And will he be likely to learn, unless he has opportunity of learning? It is generally regarded as the province of teachers to finish out and improve on nature's plan, but if they can all be brought to understand their profession so well as not to mar and spoil what nature made right, it will be a great improvement on the present condition of education in the world.

## 9) Dignity and importance of the teacher's office.

Self-respect and a consciousness of doing well are essential to comfort and success in any honorable calling; especially in one subject to so many external depressions, one so little esteemed and so poorly rewarded by the world at large, as that of the teacher. No station of so great importance has probably ever been so slightly estimated, and the fault has been partly in the members of the profession itself. They have not estimated their official importance sufficiently high; they have given a tacit assent to the superficial judgment of the world; they have hung loosely on the profession, and too often abandoned it the first opportunity. They ought early to understand that their profession demands the strongest efforts of their whole lives, that no employment can be more intimately connected with the progress and general welfare of society, that the best hopes and tenderest wishes of parents and of nations depend on their skill and fidelity, and that an incompetent or unworthy discharge of the duties of their office brings the community into the condition of an embattled host *when the standard-bearer faileth*. If teachers themselves generally had a clear and definite conception of the immensely responsible place they occupy, if they were skilled in the art of laying these conceptions vividly before the minds of the people among whom they labor, it would produce a great influence on the profession itself by bringing it under the pressure of a mightier motive, and cause all classes of people more clearly to understand the inestimable worth of the good teacher, and make them more willing to honor and reward him. And this too would be the surest method of ridding the profession of such incumbents as are a disgrace to it, and an obstacle to its elevation and improvement. Julius Caesar was the first of the Romans who honored school teachers by raising them to the rank of Roman citizens, and in no act of his life did he more clearly manifest that peculiar sagacity for which he was so distinguished.

10) Special religious obligations of teachers in respect to benevolent devotedness to the intellectual and moral welfare of society, habits of entire self-control, purity of mind, elevation of character, etc.

The duties of the teacher are scarcely less sacred or less delicate than those of the minister of religion. In several important respects he stands in a similar relation to society; and his motives and encouragements to effort must to a considerable

extent be of the same class. It is not to be expected that teaching will ever become generally a *lucrative* profession, or that many will enter it for mere love of money, or that if any should enter it from such a motive they would ever be very useful in it. All teachers ought to have a comfortable support, and a competency for the time of sickness and old age ; but what *ought to be* and *what is* in such a world as this, are often very different things. If a competency is gained by teaching, very few will ever expect to grow rich by it. Higher motives than the love of wealth must actuate the teacher in the choice of his profession, and animate him in the performance of its laborious duties. Such motives as the love of doing good, and peculiar affection for children, do exist in many minds, notwithstanding the general selfishness of the world ; and those emotions by a proper kind of culture are susceptible of increase till they become the predominant and leading desires. The teacher who has little benevolence and little love for children must be a miserable being, as well as a very poor teacher ; but one who has these propensities strongly developed, and is not ambitious of distinction in the world of vanity and noise, but seeks his happiness in doing good, is among the happiest of men ; and some of the most remarkable instances of healthy and cheerful old age are found among school-teachers. As examples, I would mention old Ezekiel Cheever, who taught school in New England for 71 years without interruption, and died in Boston in the year 1708 at the advanced age of 93 ; or to Dr. G. F. Dinter, now living at Königsberg in Prussia, in the 80th year of his age. Indeed the ingenious author of *Hermippus Redivivus* affirms that the breath of beloved children preserves the benevolent school-master's health, as salt keeps flesh from putrefaction. In Prussia, school-teachers generally enter on their profession at the age of 22 or 25, and the average term of service among the 40,000 teachers there employed is over 30 years, making the average duration of a teacher's life there nearly sixty years ; a greater longevity than can be found in any profession in the United States. Many teachers continue in the active discharge of their official duties more than 50 years ; and the 50th anniversary of their induction to office is celebrated by a festival, and honored by a present from government.

The other qualities mentioned, self-control, purity of mind, elevation of character, are so obviously essential to a teacher's



usefulness, that they require no comment. We need only remark that these are moral qualities ; and can be cultivated only by moral means ; that they are religious qualities, and must be excited and kept alive by religious motives. Will any one here raise the cry, *sectarianism, church and state*? I pity the poor bigot, or the narrow-souled unbeliever, who can form no idea of religious principle, except as a *sectarian thing* ; who is himself so utterly unsusceptible of ennobling emotions, that he cannot even conceive it possible that any man should have a principle of virtue and piety superior to all external forms, and untrammelled by metaphysical systems. From the aid of such men, we have nothing to hope in the cause of sound education ; and their hostility we may as well encounter in one form as another, provided we make sure of the ground on which we stand, and hold up the right principles in the right shape.

11) The influence which the school should exert on civilization and the progress of society.

It requires no great sagacity to perceive that the school is one of the most important parts of the social machine, especially in modern times, when it is fast acquiring for itself the influence which was wielded by the pulpit some two centuries ago, and which at a more recent period has been obtained by the periodical press. As the community becomes separated into sects, which bigotry and intolerance force into subdivisions still more minute, the influence of the pulpit is gradually circumscribed, but no such causes limit the influence of the school. Teachers need only understand the position they occupy, and act in concert, to make the school the most effective element of modern civilization, not excepting even the periodical press. A source of influence so immense, and which draws so deeply on the destinies of man, ought to be thoroughly investigated and considered, especially by those who make teaching their profession. Yet I know not in the whole compass of English literature a single work on the subject, notwithstanding that education is so worn out a theme, that nobody can say anything new upon it.

12) The elements of Latin, together with the German, French and Spanish languages.

The languages of Europe have received most of their refinement and their science through the medium of the Latin, and so largely are they indebted to this tongue, that the elements of it are necessary as a foundation for the study of the modern languages. That the German should be understood by teachers,



especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the Western States generally, is obvious from the fact that more than half the school districts contain German parents and children, who are conciliated only through the medium of their own tongue; and the rich abundance and variety of educational literature in this language, more I venture to say than in all other languages together, renders it an acquisition of the highest importance to every teacher. In the present state of the commercial world one cannot be said to have acquired a business education without a knowledge of French; while our intimate relations with Mexico and South America render the Spanish valuable to us, and indeed in the western country almost indispensable. The mental discipline which the study of these languages gives is of the most valuable kind, and the collateral information acquired while learning them, is highly useful. Though a foreign tongue is a difficult acquisition for an adult, it is very easy for a child. In the Rhine provinces of Germany almost every child learns without effort both German and French, and in the commercial cities English also; and the unschooled children of the Levant often learn four or five different languages merely by the ear. I do not suppose that the modern languages will soon become a regular branch of study in all our common schools; still, many who depend on those schools for their education, desire to study one or more of them, and they ought to have the opportunity; and if we would make our common schools our best schools, as they surely ought to be, the teachers must be capable of giving instruction in some of these languages.

I have thus endeavored to give a brief view of the course of study which should be pursued in a Teachers' Seminary, and this I suppose in itself affords a strong and complete argument to establish the necessity of such an institution. A few general considerations in favor of this object will now be adduced.

1) The necessity of specific provision for the education of teachers is proved by the analogy of all other professions and pursuits.

To every sort of business in which men engage, some previous discipline is considered necessary; and this idea, confirmed by all experience, proceeds on the universal and very correct assumption, that the human mind knows nothing of business by intuition, and that miraculous inspiration is not to be expected. A man is not thought capable of shoeing a horse or making a

hat, without serving an apprenticeship at the business. Why then should the task of the school master, the most difficult and delicate of all, the management of the human mind, that most intricate and complex of machines, be left to mere intuition, be supposed to require no previous training? That the profession of school teacher should so long be kept so low in the scale of professions, that it should even now be so generally regarded as a pursuit which needs and can reward neither time nor pains spent in preparation for its important duties, is a plain proof and example of the extreme slowness of the human race to perfect the most important parts of the social system.

2) A well-endowed, competent, and central institution, in a State, for the education of teachers, would give in that State, oneness, dignity, and influence to the profession.

It would be a point of union that would hold the profession together, and promote that harmony and coöperation so essential to success. Teachers have been isolated and scattered without a rallying point or rendezvous; and the wonderful influence which has been exerted by the Western college of teachers, (and other similar institutions in the Eastern States), the whole secret of which is that it affords a central point around which teachers may rally, is but a faint shadow of what might be accomplished by a well endowed and ably manned seminary. Let there be some nucleus around which the strength of the profession may gather, and the community will soon feel its importance and give it its due honor.

This object cannot be accomplished by small institutions scattered through the State, nor by erecting teachers' departments in existing institutions. The aggregate expense of such an arrangement would be quite as great as that of endowing one good institution, and without such an institution it would after all accomplish but very little. It would be like distributing the waters of the canal to every little village in the State, instead of having them run in one broad and deep channel, suitable for navigation.

3) Such an institution would serve as a standard and model of education throughout the community.

The only reason why people are satisfied with an inferior system of common school instruction is, that they have no experience of a better. No community ever goes voluntarily from a better to a worse, but the tendency and the effort generally is to rise in excellence. All our ideas of excellence, however, are

comparative, and there will be little prospect of advancement unless we have a standard of comparison higher than anything to which we have already attained.

A well managed institution at the seat of government, which should embody all real improvements and hold up the highest standard of present attainment, being visited by the executive officers, the legislators, the judges, the members of the bar, and other enlightened and influential men who annually resort to the capital from every part of the State, would present a pattern to every school district and excite emulation in every neighborhood. As an example of the rapidity with which improvements are taken, provided only there are appropriate channels for them to flow in, I may mention the practice of singing in schools, so recently introduced and now so generally approved.

4) Such an institution would produce concentration of effort, its action would possess the vigor which strong sympathies impart, and it would tend to a desirable uniformity in books and modes of teaching.

I do not suppose that absolute perfection will ever be attained in the art of teaching; and while absolute perfection is not reached, it is certain there ought not to be entire uniformity in books and modes of teaching. But in this, as in all other human arts, there may be constant approximation towards the perfect; and this progress must be greatly accelerated by the concentration of effort and the powerful sympathetic action of mind on mind collected in one institution, and determined as it were to one focus. The action of such an institution would obviate the principal evils, now so strongly felt, arising from the diversity of books and methods; it would produce as much uniformity as would be desirable in the existing stage of improvement; and the more advanced the progress, the greater would be the uniformity.

5) All experience, (experience which we generally appeal to as the safest guide in all practical matters), has decided in favor of institutions sustained by government for the education of teachers.

No country has ever yet obtained a sufficient number of well qualified teachers in any other way; while every government which has adopted this method and vigorously pursued it, either has already gained the object, or is in the fair way of gaining it, however unpromising the beginnings might have been. No country has ever been so well supplied with competent teach-



ers as Prussia at the present moment, and yet thirty years ago the mass of school teachers there was probably below the present average standard of New England and Ohio. Dinter gives several examples of ignorance and incapacity during the first years of his official labors in East Prussia, which we should scarcely expect to find anywhere in the United States; and the testimony of Dr. Julius before the British House of Commons, which was published in connection with my last Report to the Legislature of Ohio, gives a similar view of the miserable condition of the Prussian schools at that time.

Now, what has been the great means of effecting so desirable an object in Prussia? Obviously and by universal acknowledgement the establishment of seminaries for the education of teachers.\* The experiment was commenced by placing one in each of the ten provinces into which the kingdom is divided, (equivalent to having one in each of the several States of this Union); and as their utility was tested, their number was increased; till now there are more than forty for a population of 14,000,000. Wirtemberg, Bavaria, Austria, Russia, Holland, France, and all other countries which desire to obtain a sufficient number of well qualified teachers, find it necessary to follow this example; and I do not believe the United States are an exception to so general a rule. Indeed, such institutions must be even more necessary for us than for them, since, from the crowded state of the profession in old countries, there is much greater competition for the appointment of school master there than here.

It now only remains that I state a few of the more prominent objections, which are sometimes made to these institutions, and endeavor to answer them.

1) "Such institutions are unnecessary. We have had good teachers without them, and may have good teachers still."

This is the old stereotyped objection against every attempt at improvement in every age. When the bold experiment was first made of nailing iron upon a horse's hoof, the objection was probably urged that horse shoes were entirely unnecessary. "We have had excellent horses without them, and shall probably continue to have them. The Greeks and Romans never used iron horse-shoes; and did not they have the best of horses, which could travel thousands of miles, and bear on their backs the conquerors of the world?" So when chimnies and glass

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\* See Notes B and C, at the close of this Article.



windows were first introduced, the same objection would still hold good. "We have had very comfortable houses without these expensive additions. Our fathers never had them, and why should we?" And at this day, if we were to attempt in certain parts of the Scottish Highlands to introduce the practice of wearing pantaloons, we should probably be met with the same objection. "We have had very good men without pantaloons, and no doubt we shall continue to have them." In fact, we seldom know the inconveniences of an old thing till we have taken a new and better one in its stead. It is nearly a year since the New York and European sailing packets were supposed to afford the very *ne plus ultra* of a comfortable and speedy passage across the Atlantic; but now, in comparison with the newly established steam packets, they are justly regarded as a slow, uncertain, and tedious mode of conveyance. The human race is progressive, and it often happens that the greatest conveniences of one generation are reckoned among the clumsiest waste lumber of the next. Compare the best printing press at which Dr. Franklin ever worked, with those splendid machines which now throw off their thousand sheets an hour; and who will put these down by repeating, that Dr. Franklin was a very good printer, and made very good books, and became quite rich without them?

I know that we have good teachers already; and I honor the men who have made themselves good teachers, with so little little encouragement and so little opportunity of study. But I also know that such teachers are very few, almost none, in comparison with the public wants; and that a supply never can be expected without the increased facilities which a good Teachers' Seminary would furnish.

2) "Such an institution would be very expensive."

True, it would cost more than it would to build a stable or fence in a few acres of ground; and in this view of the matter a canal is expensive, and so is a public road, and many other things which the public good requires and the people are willing to pay for. The only questions worthy of answer are: Whether the expense be disproportionate to the object to be secured by it? And whether it be beyond the resources of the country? To both these questions I unhesitatingly answer, No. The object to be secured is one which would fully justify any amount of expense that might be laid out upon it; and all that need be done might be done, and not a man in the State feel the poorer for it. We could not expect a perfect institution at

once. We must begin where we are, and go forward by degrees. A school sufficient for all present purposes might well be maintained for 5000 dollars a year ; and what is that for States with resources like most of the States of this Union, and for the sake of securing an object so great as the perfection of the school system ? If the kingdom of Prussia with 14,000,000 of people, two thirds of whom are very poor, and the other third not very rich, can support *forty-two* Teachers' Seminaries, surely such States as Ohio and Pennsylvania and Virginia, and others, with populations of more than a million, none of whom are very poor, and many fast growing rich, can afford to support *one*.

3) "We cannot be certain that they who study in such institutions, would devote themselves to the business of teaching."

This objection applies with equal force to all professional institutions ; and if it is of any weight against a Teachers' Seminary, it is equally available against a medical school. The objection, however, has very little weight ; for after a man has prepared himself for a profession, he generally wishes to engage in it, if he is competent to discharge its duties, and if he is not competent, the public are no losers by his withdrawal.

But let it even be supposed that a Teachers' Seminary should be established on the plan above sketched out, and occasionally a man should go successfully through the prescribed course of study, and not engage in teaching ; are the public the losers by it ? Is the man a worse member of society after such a course of study, or a better ? Is he less interested in schools, or less able to perform the duties of a school officer, or less qualified to give a useful direction to the system among the people, than he would have been without such a course of study ? Is he not manifestly able to stand on higher ground in all these respects, than he otherwise could have done ? The benefit which the public would derive from such men out of the profession, (and such would be useful in every school district), would amply remunerate all the expenses of the establishment. But such cases would be too few to avail much on either side of the argument ; certainly, in any view of them, they can argue nothing against the establishment of Teachers' Seminaries.

4) "Teachers educated in such an institution would exclude all others from the profession."

Not unless the institution could furnish a supply for all the schools, and they were so decidedly superior that the people would prefer them to all others ; in which case certainly the

best interests of education demand that the statement in the objection should be verified in fact. But the success of the institution will not be so great and all-absorbing as this. It will not be able at once to supply half the number of teachers needed, and all who are educated in it will not be superior to every one who has not enjoyed its advantages. There is great diversity of natural gifts, and some with very slender advantages will be superior to others who have been in possession of every facility for acquisition. That such an institution will elevate the standard of qualification among teachers, and crowd out those who notoriously fall below this standard, is indeed true; but this, so far from being an objection, is one of its highest recommendations.

5) "One such institution cannot afford a sufficient supply for all the schools."

This is readily conceded; but people generally admit that half a loaf is better than no bread, especially if they are hungry. If we have a thousand teachers, it is much better that 300 of the number should be well qualified, than that all should be incompetent, and 500 would be still better than 300, and 700 better than either, and the whole thousand best of all. We must begin as well as we can, and go forward as fast as we are able; and not be like the poor fool who will not move at all because the first step he takes from his own door, will not land him at once in the place of his destination. The first step is a necessary preliminary to the second, and the second to the third, and so on, till all the steps are taken and the journey completed. The educated teacher will exert a reforming influence on those who have not been so well prepared; he will elevate and enlarge their views of the duties of the profession, and greatly assist them in their endeavors after a more perfect qualification.\* He will also excite capable young men among his pupils to engage in the profession; for one of the greatest excitements of the young to engage in any business is to see a superior whom they respect in the successful prosecution of it.

Every well educated teacher does much towards qualifying those who are already in the profession without sufficient preparation, and towards exciting others to engage in it; and thus, though the institution cannot supply nearly teachers enough for all the schools, yet all the schools will be better taught in consequence of its influence. Moreover, a State institution would

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\* See Note D, at the close of this Article.

be the parent of many others, which would gradually arise as their necessity would be appreciated from the perceived success of the first.

6) "The wages of teachers are not sufficient to induce teachers so well educated to engage in the profession."

At present this is true; for wages are generally graduated according to the aggregate merit of the profession, and this hitherto has not been very great. People will not pay high for a poor article; and a disproportionate quantity of poor articles in market, which are offered cheap, will affect the price of the good with the generality of purchasers. But let the good be supplied in such quantities as to make the people acquainted with it, and it will soon drive out the bad and command its own price. The establishment of a Teachers' Seminary will raise the wages of teachers by increasing their qualifications and augmenting the real value of their services; and people eventually will pay a suitable compensation for good teaching with much less grudging than they have hitherto paid the cheap wages of poor teachers, which after all, as has been well observed, is but "buying ignorance at a dear rate."

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## NOTES.

### NOTE A. CHINESE EDUCATION.

THERE is a regular system of schools in China of two kinds, the people's schools, and schools for the nobles. The course commences when the child is five years old, and is continued very rigorously, with but few and short vacations, to the age of manhood. In the people's schools the course consists of four parts, each of which has its appropriate book. The first is called *Pe-kia-sing*, and contains the names of persons in 100 families, which the children must commit to memory. The second is called *Tsa-tse*, and contains a variety of matters necessary to be known in the common business of life. The third is called *Tsien-tse-ouen*, a collection of 1000 alphabetical letters. The fourth is *San-tse-king*, a collection of verses of three syllables each, designed to teach the elements of Chinese morals and history. Such is the provision for the common people.

For the nobles there is a great university at Peking, the *Koue-tze-*



kien, to which every mandarin is allowed to send one of his sons. The candidate for admission must go first to the governor of a city of the third rank for examination, and if approved, he receives the degree of Hien-ming. He then goes to the governor of a city of the first rank, and if he maintains a good examination there, is admitted to the university.

A mandarin is annually sent out from Peking to visit the higher institutions in the larger cities, and to confer degrees on the pupils according to their progress. A class of 400 is selected and passes through ten examinations. The 15 who have acquitted themselves best in all these examinations, receive the degree of Sinoa-tsai, the most important privilege of which is that they are no longer liable to be whipped with the bamboo. Rich men's sons, who cannot always obtain this degree by a successful passage through the ten examinations, can procure the equivalent degree of Kien-song by paying a stipulated sum into the public treasury. Having attained either of these lower degrees, the pupil after three years can offer himself at Peking for the higher degree of Kin-jin, which must be obtained after rigorous examination. The successful applicants for this honor, after one year longer, can demand at Peking an examination for the highest academical degree, that of Tsin-tse. He who obtains this is congratulated and feasted by his friends, he is regarded with veneration by the people, is eligible to the highest office in the state, and may be raised by the emperor to the dignity of Han-lin.

The emperor himself is required to be a man of learning, and the care of his early education is committed to a special college of learned men called Tschea-sza-fu; and he is regarded in law as the *educator* and *instructor* of his people, as well as their ruler. In each village there is a public hall where the civil and military functionaries assemble on the first and fifteenth of every month, and a discourse is delivered to them on the Sacred Edict. This Sacred Edict contains 1) The principle of Khong-hi, an ancient emperor. 2) A commentary by his son Young-tching, who reigned about the year 1700, and 3) A paraphrase by Wang-yeou-po. It was translated into English by Rev. W. Milne, Protestant Missionary at Malacca, and printed in London in 1817.

In the above brief sketch, it is plain that the Chinese have a great veneration for learning, and that the emoluments and honors of the empire are designed to be accessible to those only who have taken academical degrees. But the whole system is arranged to make them Chinese. It excludes everything of foreign origin, it admits neither improvement nor variation, and the result is manifest in the character of the people.

Some, however, of our modern improvements have long been known and practised in the Chinese schools. Such as the practice of the children reading and repeating together in choir, the art of mnemonics, and others of the like kind.—See *Schwartz's Geschichte der Erziehung*, Vol. I. p. 68—75.

## NOTE B.—PRUSSIAN SCHOOLS, A FEW YEARS AGO.

The following questions and answers are from Dr. Julius's testimony, before the Committee of the British House of Commons in 1834, respecting the Prussian School System.

"Do you remember from your own knowledge, what the character and attainments of the school masters were, previous to the year 1819?"

I do not recollect; but I know they were very badly composed of non-commissioned officers, organists, and half-drunken people. It has not risen like a fountain at once. Since 1770, there has been much done in Prussia and throughout Germany, for promoting a proper education of teachers, and by them of children.

In your own observation has there been a very marked improvement in the character and attainments of school masters, owing to the pains taken to which you have referred?

A very decided improvement."

Dinter in his autobiography gives some surprising specimens of gross incapacity in teachers, even subsequent to 1819. The following anecdotes are from that interesting work: *Dinters Leben von ihm selbst beschrieben.*

In the examination of a school in East Prussia, which was taught by a subaltern officer dismissed from the army, the teacher gave Dinter a specimen of his skill in the illustration of his Scripture narrative. The passage was Luke vii, the miracle of raising the widow's son at Nain. "See, children, (says the teacher,) Nain was a great city, a beautiful city; but even in such a great, beautiful city, there lived people who must die. *They brought the dead youth out.* See, children, it was the same then as it is now—dead people couldn't go alone—they had to be carried. *He that was dead began to speak.* This was a sure sign that he was alive again, for if he had continued dead he couldn't have spoken a word."

In a letter to the king a dismissed school master complained that the district was indebted to him 200705 dollars. Dinter supposed the man must be insane, and wrote to the physician of the place to inquire. The physician replied that the poor man was not insane, but only ignorant of the numeration table, writing 200 70 5 instead 275. Dinter subjoins, "By the help of God, the king, and good men, very much has now been done to make things better."

In examining candidates for the school teacher's office, Dinter asked one where the kingdom of Prussia was situated. He replied, that he believed it was somewhere in the southern part of India. He asked another the cause of the ignis fatuus, commonly called jack-with-the-lantern. He said they were spectres made by the devil. Another being asked why he wished to become a school-teacher, replied that he *must get a living somehow.*

A military man of great influence once urged Dinter to recommend a disabled soldier in whom he was interested, as a school teacher. I will do so, says Dinter, if he sustains the requisite examination. Oh, says the Col., he doesn't know much about school teaching, but he is a good, moral, steady man, and I hope you will recommend him to oblige me. D. Oh yes, Col., to oblige you, if you in your turn will do me a favor. Col. What is that? D. Get me appointed drum-major in your regiment. True I can neither beat a drum, nor play a fife; but I am a good, moral, steady man as ever lived.

A rich landholder once said to him, Why do you wish the peasant children to be educated; it will only make them unruly and disobedient. Dinter replied, If the masters are wise and the laws good, the more intelligent the people, the better they will obey.

Dinter complained that the military system of Prussia was a great hindrance to the schools. A nobleman replied that the young men enjoyed the protection of the government, and were thereby bound to defend it by arms. Dinter asked if every stick of timber in a house ought first to be used in a fire engine, because the house was protected by the engine? or whether it would be good policy to cut down all the trees of an orchard to build a fence with to keep the hogs from eating the fruit?

#### NOTE C.—SCHOOL-COUNSELLOR DINTER.

Gustavus Frederic Dinter, was born at a village near Leipsic in 1760. He first distinguished himself as principal of a Teachers' Seminary in Saxony, whence he was invited by the Prussian Government to the station of School-Counsellor for Eastern Prussia. He resides at Königsberg, and about 90 days in the year he spends in visiting the schools of his province, and is incessantly employed nearly 13 hours a day for the rest of his time, in the active duties of his office; and that he may devote himself the more exclusively to his work, he lives unmarried. He complains that his laborious occupation prevents his writing as much as he wishes for the public, yet in addition to his official duties, he lectures several times a week during term time in the university at Königsberg, and always has in his house a number of indigent boys, whose education he superintends, and, though poor himself, gives them board and clothing. He has made it a rule to spend every Wednesday afternoon, and if possible, one whole day in the week besides, in writing for the press; and thus, by making the best use of every moment of time, though he was nearly 40 years old before his career as an author commenced, he has contrived to publish more than 60 original works, some of them extending to several volumes, and all of them popular. Of one book, a school catechism, 50,000 copies were sold



previous to 1830 ; and of his large work, the School-Teacher's Bible in 9 Vols. 8vo., 30,000 copies were sold in less than 10 years.

He is often interrupted by persons who are attracted by his fame, or desire his advice, and while conversing with his visitors, that no time may be lost, he employs himself in knitting ; and thus not only supplies himself with stockings and mittens, suited to that cold climate, but always has some to give away to indigent students and other poor people. His disinterestedness is quite equal to his activity, and of the income of his publications he devotes annually nearly 500 dollars to benevolent purposes. Unweariedly industrious, and rigidly economical as he is, he lays up nothing for himself. He says, " I am one of those happy ones, who, when the question is put to them, Lack ye any thing ? (Luke 22: 35,) can answer with joy, ' Lord, nothing.' To have more than one can use is superfluity, and I do not see how this can make any one happy. People often laugh at me, because I will not incur the expense of drinking wine, and because I do not wear richer clothing, and live in a more costly style. Laugh away, good people ; the poor boys also, whose education I pay for, and for whom besides I can spare a few dollars for Christmas gifts, and new year's presents, they have their laugh too."

Towards the close of his auto-biography, he says respecting the King of Prussia, " I live happily under Frederic William ; he has just given me 130,000 dollars to build churches with in destitute places ; he has established a new Teachers' Seminary for my poor Polanders, and he has so fulfilled my every wish for the good of posterity, that I can myself hope to live to see the time when there shall be no school-master in Prussia more poorly paid than a common laborer. He has never hesitated, during the whole term of my office, to grant me any reasonable request for the helping forward of the school-system. God bless him. I am with all my heart a Prussian. And now, my friends, when ye hear that old Dinter is dead, say, ' may he rest in peace ; he was a laborious, good hearted, religious man ; he was a Christian.'"

A few such men in the United States would effect a wonderful change in the general tone of our educational efforts.

#### NOTE D.—IMPROVEMENT OF SCHOOL TEACHERS.

At the commencement of the late school efforts in Prussia, for the benefit of teachers already in the profession who had not possessed the advantages of a regular training, it was the custom for them to assemble during the weeks of vacation in their schools, and under the care of a competent teacher, go through a regular course of lessons for their improvement. Of the entire course a careful and minute journal was kept and transmitted to the government.



The following is from the journal of a four weeks' course of this kind, which was held at Regenwald in 1821, under the charge of School-Counsellor Bernhardt. The king gave his special approbation of this journal, and caused a large number of copies to be printed and circulated throughout the kingdom. The Minister of Public Instruction, expresses himself respecting it in the following terms.

"The view presented and acted upon by School-Counsellor Bernhardt, that the important point is not the quantity and variety of knowledge communicated, but its solidity and accuracy; and that the foundation of all true culture consists in the education to piety, the fear of God, and Christian humility; and accordingly that those dispositions, before all things else, must be awakened and confirmed in teachers, that thereby they may exercise love, long suffering, and cheerfulness, in their difficult and laborious calling—these principles are the only correct ones, according to which the education of teachers everywhere, and in all cases, can and ought to be conducted, notwithstanding the regard which must be had to the peculiar circumstances and the intellectual condition of particular provinces and communities. The Ministry hereby enjoin it anew upon the Regency, not only to make these principles their guide in their own labors in the common schools and Teachers' Seminaries, but also to commend and urge them in the most emphatic manner on all teachers and pupils in their jurisdiction. That this will be faithfully done, the Ministry expect with so much the more confidence, because in this way alone can the supreme will of his Majesty the King, repeatedly and earnestly expressed, be fulfilled. Of the manner in which the Regency execute this order, the Ministry expect a Report, and only remark further that as many copies of the journal as may be needed will be supplied."

The strongly religious character of the instructions in the following journal will be noticed; but will any *Christian* find fault with this characteristic, or with the King and Ministry for commanding it?

The journal gives an account of the employment of every hour in the day, from half past six in the morning to a quarter before nine in the evening. Instead of making extracts from different parts of it, I here present the entire journal for the last week of the course, that the reader may have the better opportunity of forming his own judgment on the real merits of the course.

#### FOURTH WEEK.

*Monday, Oct. 22.* A. M. 6½—7. Meditation. Teachers and parents, forget not that your children are men, and that as such they have the ability to become reasonable.—God will have all men to come to the knowledge of the truth.—As men our children have the

dignity of men, and a right to life, cultivation, honor and truth. This is a holy, inalienable right, that is, no man can divest himself of it without ceasing to be a man. 7—8½. Bible instruction. Reading the Bible, and verbal analysis of what is read. Jesus in the wilderness. 9—12. Writing. Exercise in small letters. P. M. 2—5. Writing as before. 5½—7. Singing. 8—8¾. Meditation. Our schools should be christian schools for christian children, and Jesus Christ should be daily the chief teacher. One thing is needful. Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. The great end of our schools, therefore, is the instruction of children in Christianity; or the knowledge of heavenly truths in hope of eternal life; and to answer the question, What must I do to be saved? Our children as they grow up must be able to say from the conviction of their hearts, We know and are sure that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. Beloved teachers, teach no Christianity without Christ, and know that there cannot be a living faith without knowledge and love.

*Tuesday, Oct. 23.* A. M. 6—7. Meditation. Christian schools are the gardens of God's spirit, and the plantation of humanity, and, therefore, holy places. How dreadful is this place. This is none other than the house of God. Teachers, venerate your schools—regard the sacred as sacred. 7—8½. Bible instruction. Reading of the Bible and verbal analysis of what is read. Luke 15: 1—10. 8½—9. Catechism. Repeating the second article with proper emphasis, and the necessary explanation of terms. 10—12. Writing. Exercise in German capitals, with the writing of syllables and words. P. M. 1—4. General repetition of the instructions for school teachers given during the month. 4—5. Brief instruction respecting school discipline and school laws. 5—7. Singing. 8—8½. Meditation. Teachers, you should make your school a house of prayer, not a den of murderers. Thou shalt not kill—that is, thou shalt do no injury to the souls of thy children. This you will do if you are an ungodly teacher, if you neglect your duty, if you keep no order or discipline in your school, if you instruct the children badly or not at all, and set before them an injurious example. The children will be injured also by hurrying through the school-prayers, the texts, and catechism, and by all thoughtless reading and committing to memory. May God help you.

*Wednesday, Oct. 24.* 6—6¾. Meditation. Dear teachers, you labor for the good of mankind and the kingdom of God; be therefore God's instruments and co-workers. Thy kingdom come. In all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God. 6¾—8½. Bible instruction as before, John 4: 1—15. 8½—9. Catechism. The correct and emphatic reading and repeating of the first section with brief explanation of terms. 10—12. Instruction in school discipline and school laws. P. M. 1—3. Instruction in the cultivation of fruit-trees. For instruction in this branch of economy, the school is ar-

ranged in six divisions, each under the care of a teacher acquainted with the business, with whom they go into an orchard, and under his inspection perform all the necessary work. General principles and directions are written in a book, of which each student has a copy. More cooling is the shade and more sweet the fruit of the tree which thine own hands have planted and cherished. 3—5. Instruction in school discipline and school laws. 5½—½. Singing. 8—9. Meditation. The christian school-teacher is also a good husband and father. Blameless, the husband of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behavior, apt to teach, not given to wine, no striker, not greedy of filthy lucre, patient, not a brawler, not covetous, one that ruleth well his own house, having his children in subjection with all gravity.—He that readeth, let him understand.

*Thursday, Oct. 25.* A. M. 6—6¾. Meditation. Dear teachers, do all in your power to live in harmony and peace with your districts, that you may be a helper of the parents in the bringing up of their children. Endeavor to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. As much as in you lies, live peaceably with all men. 6¾—9. Bible instruction as before, Luke 7: 11—17. Reading by sentences, by words, by syllables, by letters. Reading according to the sense with questions as to the meaning. Understandest thou what thou readest? 10—11. Instructions as to prayer in schools. Oral and devotional forms of prayer suitable for teachers and children are copied and committed to memory. Lord, teach us to pray. 11—12. Writing. Exercise in capitals and writing words. P. M. 2—3. Instruction respecting prayer in the family and in the school. Forms of prayer for morning and evening, and at the table, are copied with instructions that school children should commit them to memory, that they may aid their parents to an edifying performance of the duty of family worship; that as the school thus helps the family, so the family also may help the school. Use not vain repetitions. 3—5. Bible instruction. General views of the contents of the Bible, and how the teacher may communicate, analyze and explain them to his children yearly at the commencement of the winter and summer term. 5½—7. Singing. 8—9. Meditation. Teachers, acquire the confidence and love of your districts, but never forsake the direct path of duty. Fear God, do right, and be afraid of no man. The world with its lusts passeth away, but he that doeth the will of God shall abide forever.

*Friday, Oct. 26.* Meditation. Teachers, hearken to the preacher, and labor into his hands; for he is placed over the church of God, who will have the school be an aid to the church. Remember them that labor among you, and are over you in the Lord, and esteem them highly in love for their work's sake. Neither is he that planteth anything, nor he that watereth anything, but God who giveth the increase. 7—9. Bible instruction. Summary of the con-



tents of the Bible to be committed to memory by children from ten to fifteen years of age. 10—12. Bible instruction. Brief statement of the contents of the historical books of the New Testament. P. M. 1—5. Bible instruction. Contents of the doctrinal and prophetic books of the New Testament. Selection of the passages of the New Testament proper to be read in a country school. A guide for teachers to the use of the Bible in schools. 5—7. Singing. 8—9. Meditation. Honor and love, as a good teacher, thy king and thy father land; and awake the same feelings and sentiments in the hearts of thy children. Fear God, honor the king, seek the good of the country in which you dwell, for when it goes well with it, it goes well with thee.

*Saturday, Oct. 27.* 6—6½. Meditation. By the life in the family, the school, and the church, our heavenly Father would educate us and our children for our earthly and heavenly home; therefore, parents, teachers, and preachers, should labor hand in hand. One soweth and another reapeth. I have laid the foundation, another buildeth thereon; and let every man take heed how he buildeth thereon. Means of education 1) in the family—the parents, domestic life, habits—2) in the school—the teacher, the instruction, the discipline—3) in the church,—the preaching, the word, the sacraments. 6½—9½. Bible instruction. Rules which the teacher should observe in reading the Bible. In analyzing it. In respect to the contents of the Old Testament books and selections from them for reading, written instructions are given and copied, on account of the shortness of the time which is here given to this topic. 10—12. Bible instruction. General repetition. P. M. 1—4. Bible instruction. General repetition. 4—5. Reading. Knowledge of the German language with written exercises. 7—10½. Review of the course of instruction and the journal. 10½—12. Meditation. The prayer of Jesus (John xvii.) with particular reference to our approaching separation.

*Sunday, Oct. 28.* 6½—9. Morning prayer. Catechism. Close of the term. (In the open air on a hill at sunset) singing and prayer. Address by the head teacher. Subject. What our teacher would say to us when we separate from him. 1) What you have learned apply well, and follow it faithfully. If ye hear these things, happy are ye if ye do them. 2) Learn to see more and more clearly that you know but little. We know in part. 3) Be continually learning and never get weary. The man has never lived who has learned all that he might. 4) Be yourself what you would have your children become. Become as little children. 5) Let God's grace be your highest good, and let it strengthen you in the difficulties which you must encounter. My grace is sufficient for thee—my strength is perfect in thy weakness. 6) Keep constantly in mind the Lord Jesus Christ. He has left us an example that we



should follow his steps. Hymn—Lord Jesus Christ, hearken thou to us. Prayer. Benediction.

Review of the hours spent in different studies during the four weeks. Arithmetic 67; Writing 56; Bible 25; Meditation 36; other subjects 26; Singing 28. Total 238. From 9 to 10, in the morning, was generally spent in walking together, and one hour in the afternoon was sometimes spent in the same manner.

Familiar lectures were given on the following topics. 1) Directions to teachers as to the knowledge and right use of the Bible in schools. 2) Directions to teachers respecting instruction in writing. 3) Directions for exercises in mental arithmetic. 4) Instructions respecting school discipline and school laws. 5) A collection of prayers for the school and family, with directions to teachers. 6) The German parts of speech, and how they may be best taught in a country school. 7) The day book.

Printed books were the following: 1) Dinter's Arithmetic. 2) Dinter on Guarding against Fires. 3) Brief Biography of Luther. 4) On the Cultivation of Fruit Trees. 5) German Grammar. 6) Baumgarten's Letter Writer for Country Schools. 7) Luther's Catechism.

That which can be learned and practised in the short space of a few weeks, is only a little, a very little. But it is not of so much importance that we have more knowledge than others; but most depends on this, that I have the right disposition; and that I thoroughly understand and faithfully follow out the little which I do know.

God help me, that I may give all which I have to my school; and that I with my dear children may above all things strive after that which is from above. Father in heaven, grant us strength and love for this.

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## ARTICLE VI.

## DISCRIMINATIVE PREACHING.

By Rev. George Shepard, Prof. Sac. Rhet. Theol. Seminary, Bangor, Me.

*Rightly dividing the word of truth.*—2 Tim. 11: 15.

THE direction implied in these words, originally addressed to Timothy, is a valuable one to every preacher of righteousness, that he may show himself approved unto God, and make himself felt in the hearts and consciences of his fellow men.

The meaning of the direction I suppose to be simply this:—Adapt yourself to the natures, characters and cases of those whom you address.

The preacher, who means to comply with the direction, has regard to the various attributes which belong to man as a moral agent. He does not address him, as a purely spiritual being, but as having also an animal nature;—not as endowed with intellect alone, or with passions and affections alone; but as endowed with intellect and affections, the power of reasoning and the power of feeling. He endeavors to meet these several attributes or powers, in their true, relative importance and proportion.

Again; He regards, not only the variety of attributes in man as an individual, he regards likewise, the variety in the individuals which compose his auditory.

He has discriminating respect to the various ages of his people; the child, the youth, the man in mature life, the person far advanced in years; addressing each according to their several circumstances and temptations.

He regards too the different relations of husband and wife, parent and child, master and servant, ruler and subject.

He discriminates and addresses the different characters before him, not merely regarding the generic division into righteous and wicked, but descending to the various types, which the all-pervading moral disease assumes, and which he knows it has assumed in the hearts of many of his people.

He has a message for the scrupulous moralist; another for the flagrant transgressor, whose heart of hate, and lips of blasphemy, and life of crime, are in horrid consonance.

He has a message for the profound slumberer in sin, another for the chafed and rankling caviller.

He has a message for the secret doubter, and the open infidel ; another, for that large class, who promptly and stupidly assent to everything, and really believe and do nothing.

He brings forth a portion for the brazen-faced hypocrite ; another, for the unconsciously deluded ; still another, for the weak and tremulous believer.

At one time he has in view the man obdurate, and at ease in his rebellion ; at another, the weeping, anxious inquirer.

There are those who will hope against all good ground of hope. There are others who will keep up the dismal strain of despair, when with cheerful hearts, they ought to be serving and honoring the Saviour. These conflicting cases he considers and endeavors to meet in his appeals.

There are the ignorant, who need the simplest elements of doctrine ; by their side, the learned distorter of revelation, who can take the scattered material—the stones and pillars of truth—and adroitly build them into a “refuge of lies.” These are not forgotten in his discourses.

I might extend the detail to the different constitutional biases, and the varying attitudes of mind, of less prominence and importance, but not too insignificant to be regarded by the preacher in the adjustment of his messages, in his apportionments of truth.

In view of all these attributes, characters, and classes, it is obvious, that it will not do at all, to preach very much in one strain. Those ministers, who have been signally successful, have not done so. Paul did not do so, but the opposite. “Unto the Jews,” he says, “I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews ; to them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law ; to them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God but under the law to Christ,) that I might gain them that are without law. To the weak, became I as weak, that I might gain the weak. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.” When his Corinthian hearers could not bear meat, he fed them with milk, instead of strong meat. It was on account of their unskillfulness in the word of righteousness. Strong meat he assigned to those who were of full age.

This principle of adjustment is recognized by Jude. “Of

some," he says, "have compassion, making a difference; others save with fear, pulling them out of the fire."

The preacher, at the present day, has to make a difference; always preaching truth, but holding different aspects and phases of truth, according to the varying purposes to be accomplished, or cases to be met. Now, he speaks in a tone of sharp rebuke; again, in a strain of winning tenderness. To-day he employs rigid, compact argument. The next Sabbath, he pours from a warm heart, the simple, fervid appeal. In one discourse, the soothing, the consolatory predominates; in another, truths and considerations, adapted to alarm and agitate. In all, he preaches truth; but truths of varying temper and tone, such as in his judgment will the most accurately meet (and benefit) the diverse cases and characters before him.

Having, now, glanced at the method of effecting this prescribed division of truth, in other words, presented some of the detail, involved in a compliance with the injunction of the apostle, I proceed to consider the difficulties and embarrassments which the preacher commonly meets with, while endeavoring, in style and doctrine, to adjust his messages to the diverse characters and wants existing among his people. He soon finds it is a very nice and responsible matter, and that injury may be effected, when he means only good. Even when he commits no mistake, verges to no extreme, some evil may come of his effort. His position often is like that of the physician, called to a patient laboring under a complication of diseases. The prescription which mitigates one class of symptoms, aggravates another class. The distinctive style of truth which meets and benefits one hearer, tending to one extreme of opinion or feeling, operates unfavorably upon another hearer, who is tending to the opposite extreme. I will illustrate by some instances of not unfrequent occurrence.

The minister has in mind, a desponding portion of his flock. They are always looking on the dark side of things,—making their case the very worst they can,—refusing to admit that degree of hope which is necessary as an incitement to effort. He prepares a sermon for their special benefit. He presses into it all the encouragement he dares to,—makes it as bright and winning as truth will admit. To the class for whom it was designed, it does good, perhaps. But the preacher is embarrassed with the fear, that another class will receive injury from it. Those who were too forward before,—too ready to build themselves



up, may be induced by the discourse, to hope, when they have no good reason to hope. They seize hold of what was intended for others, and pervert it to their own delusion and ruin.

Again, the preacher feels called upon, to make a very strong presentation and appeal, to arrest, if possible, a large class in the assembly, who are persisting in a course of perilous delay. He feels that strong measures, startling announcements are demanded by the gathering exigency of their condition. He selects the passage, "My Spirit shall not always strive with man." He speaks plainly of the sin which has no forgiveness. He holds forth in vividness, the fact, that there is somewhere a line darkly drawn across the sinner's path, over which if he passes, he is beyond the pale of possible salvation; and he affirms the probability, that many after repeated seasons of the Spirit's visitation, do come into this state of premature reprobation.

The appeal does good. The slumbering are aroused; the presumptuous inspired with salutary caution. There are others, it may be but one or two, who are driven almost to despair by this aspect of truth,—persons quaking with the apprehension, that they have committed the unpardonable sin, and held back from all effort to obtain mercy, by the ever-brooding belief, that with them the day of mercy has finally closed. The considerate preacher cannot but be alive to the fear, lest while drawing out this terrific style of truth, he overwhelm, in absolute gloom and discouragement, some minds, whom a gentler and more attractive message might have decoyed to the regions of hope.

Again, there are some in every congregation who regard it as a very easy thing to become religious. They have little concern about the matter, for they can step into the kingdom of Christ whenever they please. All they have to do, is to sin circumspectly; look out and not let death get the start of them, and they will come out safe in the end. Repentance is easy, the work of a few moments, and heaven is gained. There are others who pretend to believe, that they have no sort of power whatever to move in this matter. As they are absolutely helpless, of course cannot do the work, nor take any step towards it, they have only to sit supinely down and wait for the Spirit of God to come and convert them.

To meet the former class the preacher deems it necessary to come forth clearly in proof and exposure of the sinner's weakness and ruin,—that while there is no strength in himself, the work he is called upon to do, is a work of immense difficulty.

The sinner is shown that his deliverance does not lie so absolutely with himself as he supposes,—that he is dependent upon divine power, a power which may be justly withheld, and if withheld, he will assuredly perish. To all this, the latter class very reverently bow assent. They suck deadly poison out of these leaves of life. By a slight perversion, they turn what should awaken them, into opiates to make more profound, the already leaden sleep of death. So on the other hand, when we press on the last mentioned class, obligation, and ability as the ground of it, the former class push our position to an extreme, and presumptuously infer, that in the final exigency, they can wake up and walk forth in the freedom and joy of God's own children.

Again, when atonement is our theme, especially when setting forth the fulness of this provision, its adequacy for one world or a thousand; when striving to make the impression deep and productive, that the blood of Christ cleanses from all sin, no matter how aggravated the transgressions, how high they have arisen, all will be washed away on the first throb of penitence, or look and reliance of faith, we feel that we are in danger of throwing some beams of encouragement upon a career of guilt. Some one will be ready with the perverse deduction,—“if a Saul has been forgiven, a Gardiner, a Rochester, a Newton redeemed, then I may venture to grow up to any stature in crime, and the same provisions will avail for me.”

We cannot concentrate and pile on the hearts of the young all the motives to early piety, without filling the horizon of the aged with portentous blackness.

We cannot blot out the common delusory expectation of a death-bed preparation for eternity, by showing its almost absolute impossibility, without wounding the sensibilities of many before us, whose departed friends left no other evidence that they are at rest, than the agitated prayers and repentings which mingled with the death struggle.

We cannot come forth, pointedly in exposure and reproof of particular sins, in the practice of which, certain hearers are at the time engaged, without the hazard of awaking feelings of hostility which it would be far more pleasant to the preacher to have allayed and sleeping.

It may be thought by some, that, if there are these evils, these difficulties, these opportunities for perversion incident to the dividing and appropriative style of dispensing truth, it is better

on the whole to keep to very general and abstract statements. We admit, by this latter course, the preacher may avoid the doing of some harm, which in the other method, he would be liable to do. However, it is quite certain he would accomplish but little good. The physician, with his complex case, by abstaining from all definite prescription, would be sure not to kill his patient. It would be equally sure, that the patient would die of his disease, notwithstanding the skill and good wishes of the physician.

We are prepared then to state in the third place, that the dividing and appropriating style of dispensing truth, with all its difficulties and hazards, is indispensable to the permanent and extended success of the ministry.

This appropriate meting out of our messages is necessary on account of the *spiritual ignorance* which prevails. How few under the blinding influence of sin, know what they need. The preacher does know definitely. Shall he then bring forth the particular truth, or aspect of truth, and direct to those hearts, or shall he bring forth a vast and diverse mass, and leave them and others to select out from it, what in their judgment, may best befit them ;—about as sane a procedure, and about as profitable too; as it would be for the physician to go before his worst cases, open his medicine chest, and ask his patients to help themselves.

The course we are advocating is necessary in order to *overcome the insensibility* of men. How profound is the insensibility of the world on the subject of sin and salvation. How exceedingly difficult to make any encroachments upon the widespread, total sleep of moral death ;—sinners, and they do not feel it ; on the verge of perdition, and they do not see it ; warned with the thunder's tone, invited with angel's sweetness, and they do not heed it.

The only power of truth to arrest attention, and awaken feeling and interest lies in its appropriate, definite statement. In making this remark we only declare the result of all observation and experience. Take the doctrine of depravity. There are those to be found who are great sinners in the general, but very good sort of people in the detail. Preach to such persons faithfully and fully, human apostasy, the entireness of man's moral ruin ; they agree to it all ; and they will go home, and turn the sermon into a confession, and acknowledge before God, that they are by nature and practice, essentially and radically pollu-



ted. But if we bring out and set home upon the same class, their predominant, characteristic sin, very likely we incur for the moment wrath and repulsion. At the same time, we are in the way of doing them some good ; for we have broken in upon the iron reign of death. No matter what the point is, if the statement is accordant with fact, the picture vivid, graphic, true to the life, so as to compel a response from this bosom and that, and erect this conscience and that into an accuser, with the keen home thrust, "Thou art the man," we have gained a great matter, we have a hold upon the attention. The moment the hearer feels the preacher's hand in contact with any part of his moral nature,—of his character or his conduct, whether it be with assuaging intent, to pour in the healing oil, or with salutary severity, to probe the festering sore, he cannot be indifferent. He is alive to every movement, and will continue to be, so long as the keen instrument of truth is traversing the hidden fountains, yea, the very throbbing fibres of feeling within him. Always when the preacher is so distinctive and characteristic in his message as to draw out to portions of his audience, and exhibit to them their own image, the eyes and ears, mind and heart will be open, while that message is being delivered. This is the fact. I go into no explanation of it. The fact is notorious. Hence the authority with which Christ taught. His blindest, hardest opposers very generally found out, ere he closed, that he spake of them,—that the truth employed, had an intense and smarting fitness to their own characters,—and they went away with an arrow quivering and rankling at their vitals. Hence the power of John the Baptist, when he stood before his princely auditor, the impure Herod. The sentence and the sentiment, which smote and distressed him was, "it is not lawful for thee to have her." Hence too the agitating effect, when Paul preached to the sensual and oppressive Felix. It was when he reasoned of righteousness and temperance and judgment—truths and topics keenly correspondent to the vicious dispositions of the man, that the august sinner trembled. Hence too the unparalleled result, when Peter addressed the congregated murderers of his Lord. It was not a loose, scattered homily upon sin and repentance. He came upon them with definite, fitting truth, in dread concurrence with an already armed and exasperated conscience: "Ye denied the Holy One and Just, and desired a murderer to be granted unto you, and ye killed the Prince of Life whom God hath raised from the dead."



There was attention ; there was feeling. Three thousand were smitten down and rose at once to new and joyous life. There is generally feeling, where there is this discriminative style of address. The obstacle which arises from the insensibility of the dead heart is measurably overcome.

There is another obstacle, in a degree overcome by this mode of employing truth, namely, that which *arises from the settled disinclination* of men to the gospel. God's truth is a disrelished thing, generally loathed. Men naturally have no taste for it, no desire for it. Hence the injunction : *Go, carry* the message ; mete it out with fitness and skill, and convey it to the quarter where it is especially needed. The portion which is needed is often the very portion most repugnant to the soul ; as the medicine which the disease demands, is the most odious to the taste. We ask, will such select out from the mass and take the requisite portion of their own accord ? No, the Christian in fault, will just let alone the truth, which will operate against him, in the way of detection and reproof. The backslider will stand far away from the message, fitted to awaken and recover him. The impenitent man will avoid, if he can, the argument, which demolishes his delusion and rends away his excuses. There is no other course then, than to mete out and assign the apt and fitting truth,—with skill, direct,—with feeling urge it home. Sometimes it is like feeding a man with the lock-jaw ; all that he receives has to be crowded between his teeth. I am here speaking of depravity in its more sullen, obdurate, unyielding features. By no adjustment of truth, or power of appeal, can we expect, ordinarily, to do men of this character any good.

But the preacher has not always such to preach to. By some providence of God, or some voice or influence from above, at length, the hardness and disinclination, as it respects many, begin to yield. The ear and heart, before shut, are now open. They come to the sanctuary, longing for the appropriate kind and style of truth. May we not suppose, that a single sentence, directed that way, will accomplish more, than a whole sermon hurled against closed and barred hearts ? Where affliction has softened, or the Spirit is striving, there is a spot thirsting for the divine word, as the weary earth thirsts for the genial shower. Let the preacher search out such spots on the otherwise cold and rocky field assigned him. Whenever they exist, let him meet them, with the truths demanded by their awakened sympathies—their realized perils and necessities, and he will assu-

redly do good. The word will be received, and do its office of sanctification and redemption.

If it be thus indispensable, that the word of truth be rightly divided and discriminately assigned in order to its highest and best effects, it is important that the qualifications demanded in the preacher, for this distinctive, diversified mode, be understood and possessed.

Among the things requisite in the preacher to skill and success in this style, are,

1. An enlarged and accurate knowledge of, and a symmetrical attachment to the system of truth. Truth is the preacher's instrument on which he relies as the means of every achievement. The scheme of truth, as a whole, is very nice in the adjustment of its parts and powers,—very delicate and precise in the arrangement of balancing considerations. Of course, it is very easily disturbed, and when disturbed, it becomes injurious and even destructive in its operation. Many of the single points of truth, by being urged too far, even on their appropriate line, are carried over into the region of error. It is indispensable, then, in order to divide off, and employ skilfully any one part of the system, that we understand the whole system, and the precise relation of the part or section we employ, to the whole system. When we hold up any one aspect of truth it must be in perfect knowledge and recollection of every other aspect. If not, the part presented will be liable to be inordinately magnified and extended. Suppose you put, as has often been done, the scheme of doctrine and precept, into rude and disqualified hands. The preacher of this sort, in his zeal to make the part he is upon, do its whole office and a little more, very soon induces disorder and conflict, where God ordained harmony. In one sermon, the divine sovereignty becomes a blind, inflexible fatalism. In another, man's ability, independence of his Maker. In another, the impotence of the sinner, a release from responsibility. In another, free grace, freedom from holiness. He divides and dwells upon the sections, and successively magnifies and distorts them, till they turn in hostility upon each other, and the sermon of to-day is really and openly at war with the sermon of yesterday. All this proceeds from attempting to handle the parts, when the knowledge does not extend to the whole.

It is equally important that the attachment be enlarged and proportionate. Some have a strong doctrinal partiality. They

seem to live and move and have their spiritual being in a particular doctrine. In every prayer they thank God for that doctrine. In every sermon, it becomes the bone and body of discourse. They have indulged the unique attachment till the mind has beaten a track on the favorite section of truth, from which it cannot for any length of time consent to depart. If the preacher starts in his discourse, from some other point, and apparently on some new route, he proceeds not far before he swings back into the old thoroughfare, and trudges out the time, with the complacent belief, that if there is not power in that line of thought, there is power nowhere. To succeed then in a distinctive and consequently diversified exhibition of truth, there must be a mind enlarged, enlightened and liberalized theologically.

2. Success in this varied style of exhibition requires a mind liberalized in a literary and rhetorical respect. There is failure often, on account of fixed and uniform mental habitudes. Some are so uniquely constituted and trained, intellectually, that they cannot, or *think* they cannot present truth in the varying styles and aspects demanded for its widest impression and productiveness. One possesses predominantly the imaginative faculty. He deals in exquisite imagery and harmonious periods. He is taken with these things, and supposes that every body else will be. Another has the reasoning faculty very strongly developed. Nothing but rigid demonstration affects him, and, as he supposes, will affect others. Another, is of so quick sensibility, that proof or no proof, he feels with almost equal intensity. One ranges most readily and naturally around the terrific region of Sinai. Another dwells with most facility and success on the milder themes of Calvary and the August Sufferer there. Most will recollect the very graphic contrast drawn by Robert Hall, between Andrew Fuller and James Toller, two contemporaneous ministers of Kettering.

Mr. Fuller appeared to most advantage when occupied in detecting sophistry, repelling objections, and ascertaining with microscopic accuracy, the exact boundaries of truth and error. Mr. Toller gave his attention chiefly to those parts of Christianity which come most into contact with the imagination and the feelings, over which he exerted a sovereign ascendancy. Mr. Fuller convinced by his arguments, Mr. Toller subdued by his pathos. The former made his hearers feel the grasp of his intellect, the latter, the contagion of his sensibility. Mr. Fuller's discourses identified themselves after they were heard with trains



of thought, Mr. Toller's with trains of emotion. The illustrations employed by Mr. Fuller, (for he also excelled in illustration) were generally made to subserve the clearer comprehension of his subject; those of Mr. Toller consisted chiefly of appeals to the imagination and the heart. Mr. Fuller's ministry was peculiarly adapted to detect hypocrites, to expose fallacious pretensions to religion, and to separate the precious from the vile; he sat as "the refiner's fire and the fuller's soap." Mr. Toller was most in his element when exhibiting the consolations of Christ, dispelling the fears of death, and painting the prospects of eternity. We have here an illustration of the varying mental aptitudes and inclinations of men; and we see how they stand in the way of that divided and diversified exhibition of truth, so necessary to its largest results. The duty of the minister in this respect is plain. In order to reach and benefit every class, every variety of cultivation and taste, he must reach after a certain largeness, liberality, and versatility of mind; not be forever one thing in style, and spirit and tone. He must cultivate an aptitude in a great variety of directions. In the first place, pungent, significant intention, in whatever way he does turn; then, the power of turning a great many ways, and of presenting truth in all its parts, motives, and aspects, doctrinal or practical, mild or severe, calm or fervid, gorgeous or simple, logical or hortatory, as the object to be gained, the minds to be affected may require. Ministers, as a general thing, may attain to a good degree, this diversified power, these opposite aptitudes. They must, if they would gain access to the greatest number of minds. If any are sensible of a bias to one class of topics, or one style of exhibition, they can resist this propensity, and range in other modes, and other regions, and *must*, if they would achieve the largest practicable amount of impression and of good.

3. Another thing on the part of the preacher, requisite to the style of exhibition which has been advocated, is knowledge of men,—that accurate knowledge which is gained by a free intercourse with and study of them in all their prejudices, passions, interests, and pursuits. This knowledge is indispensable to the preacher as the means of meeting with any sureness, the exigencies of his flock,—the varying forms of the wide spread malady, the peculiarities of trial, of feeling and belief, which exist within the sphere of his labor, and which demand prompt and special appliances. If he has not the knowledge in question, he



knows nothing as he ought to know. His treasures, gathered from all ages and a universe of books, will avail him but little, in this real work of life and death, if he is destitute of good, plain, homespun common sense. If he has not wit enough, adroitly to guide him in disbursing his treasures, if he is so indiscriminately, so insanely prodigal of them, as to throw them out under swine's feet, he might just as well be loaded with pebbles as with pearls; just as well for the swine, just as well for himself. I must leave this point, though its importance demands a more extended consideration. For here we have a prominent cause why certain men, turn out so differently from what is anticipated. Some, on the one hand of very limited literary and theological advantages, transcend expectation. The reason is, though they have not read the world of books, the folios of the past and the present; they have read, in its best openings, that most original and stirring, and instructive of all books, the real world of character,—living, moving, acting men. They know the common mind. They understand human nature. Hence all the truth they have, is brought into very significant and effective service. On the other hand, some of large qualifications and promise, disappoint expectation. The reason is, while they are familiar with the world of books, they are sadly ignorant of the world of men,—ignorant of the very beings whom it is their duty and office to save. They do not wield the sword of the Spirit with intelligent and discriminative aim. They do not command respect and gain influence, simply because they know not men. Multitudes, without question, have gone down to the weepings and wailings of endless death, jeering along the way and making themselves merry at some of the indiscretions—the pointless and unfitting appeals, and erratic strokes of the ministry appointed to warn and save them.

4. Moral courage—strength and decision of purpose are demanded for the divided and distinctive style of presentation. It is this style we have seen, which does the execution. A little fragment of truth—a pebble from the brook, by a stripling thrown, will often accomplish more, against even a giant depravity, than a huge mass of rock, cut entire from the mountain, though hurled in the same direction with a giant's strength. It is not the broad magnificent surface, but the presented point which pricks the heart and goads the conscience. And while it pricks and goads, it is apt to irritate. I plead for no rude and causeless exasperation. I have no sympathy with those

who seem to regard themselves as especially set for the defence of the offence of the cross ; and who in fulfilment of their commission, strive to make every truth of the gospel as haggard and repulsive as they can. I plead only for the distinctive message, and am sure that truth, in fitting detail, though mildly urged, will often awaken in the wrong doer more heated and threatening displeasure, than any general statement, however roughly and rashly made. It was a close applicatory section of truth which cost the Baptist his head, and which more than once brought the meek Son of God to the verge of death, and finally brought him to the cross. The minister everywhere will encounter a trial in this significant directing and carrying out of his appeals. He needs a fear of God which will lift him above the fear of men.

He will encounter trials of another kind, arising from the exorbitant expectations of the people. While some do not want a great diversity and closeness of application, many do want, in the minister, a great richness and variety of qualification. They seem to insist, that every aptitude, excellency and power shall center in every single man. If they do not all happen to center in their man, they contrive to be dissatisfied. At length, it begins to be whispered, here and there : " True he has many admirable qualities ; but there is one other which occurs to us, that he has not. He does this thing well ; and that thing well ; but that other thing not quite so well as we should like. He preaches well in this direction—well in that—not so well in the other as is desirable."—There are some so very unreasonable that, instead of fixing their eye upon the approved qualities of their minister, and thanking God for the noble endowments actually conferred, they fix their jaundiced gaze upon his deficiency, and look and look till it begins to look dreadfully, and they can bear it no longer. Then they very benevolently say : " His usefulness is at end in this place. He is fitted to do good in some other field, but not in this. We are sure, he is not the man for us." We can only request such people in their judgments about us, poor, imperfect agents, just to consider, that the material is coarse ;—ministers are *earthen* vessels ; and it is not always possible to get the same lump into every *celestial* shape demanded by their high wrought conceptions.

There are those who will trouble the minister in the prosecution of that *course* which he feels bound to pursue. They would limit him in his scope of preaching and of action.

Some are ultra in their orthodoxy. They make Calvinism about as rigid and inexorable as fate itself, and they think the only way to benefit the sinner is to hang him upon one of their dry iron hooks, and there let him hang and writhe till God appears, in inscrutable mercy to take him down. There are others of an opposite stamp. Their constant theme and song is free grace. They wish to see everything made easy and inviting. No good is done in preaching, only as encouragement is made to predominate. Whatever the point they are attached to, the minister must keep to, or in their judgment, his labors will be nearly in vain.

There are those who have their favorite causes, or objects; and they would have us make most prominent in our advocacy, the cause they love best, and deem the most important.

There are others who have their favorite classes in the community. To satisfy them that we are employing our talents to the best advantage, we must give special and continued attention in our addresses and labors, to the class, to which they are devoted. Now what shall the minister do? He stands, or ought to stand, on high ground. He sees the whole field of duty;—has in view all his responsibilities. He is to account for all. Shall he turn his strength and concentrate his attention permanently any one way? A voice from heaven reaches him, saying: “*DIVIDE, rightly divide* the truth, the strength, the solicitude, the prayer, the labor; and give to all that is promising and benignant in christian enterprise, its just measure of influence, and to all the conditions, ages, classes, characters, attitudes, of sinning, suffering man, the appropriate kind and style of doctrine and appeal.”

As ambassadors of God, preachers of his truth, we have difficult and responsible duties to perform. Holiness is a crowning qualification. With the mind stayed on God, strength and wisdom shall be received, and that firmness of spirit which the trials and perplexities of our lot demand. Then there shall be a faithful and vigorous dispensation of the word of truth; and the spirit will go with it, and give it a double edge and a sharpened point, and hearts of very adamant shall be pierced or cloven asunder by its strokes, the rebellious submissively bow, and become our helpers on earth, our joy and crown in eternity.

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## ARTICLE VII.

## REVIEW OF MAHAN ON CHRISTIAN PERFECTION.

By Rev. Nathaniel S. Folsom, Providence, R. I.

*Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection; with other kindred subjects, illustrated and confirmed in a series of discourses designed to throw light on the way of holiness. By Rev. Asa Mahan, President of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Boston: D. S. King, 1839. pp. 237.*

It was not until after the appearance of Dr. Pond's article in the January number of the Repository, that this volume issued from the press. The nucleus of the book is a sermon first preached in Oberlin, and afterwards published by request in the New York Evangelist, in November, 1838—a date subsequent, doubtless, to the preparation of Dr. Pond's article. The "series of discourses" which it contains, was delivered in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston; where the author supplied the pulpit during the illness of the pastor. As it takes new positions on the same doctrine that has been advocated by Mr. Finney, and makes new attacks upon the common faith of the Church, it may be due to the cause of truth to discuss the subject still further.

Before examining Mr. Mahan's arguments, there are two things worthy to be noticed. 1. He does not fairly state the question at issue, and the opinions of his brethren who differ from him. 2. It is remarkable, that while he is contending for the doctrine of the actual attainment of perfect and permanent holiness in the present life, as the secret and spring of higher devotedness, which he trusts he has himself found, it was not that doctrine, but another, which put him in possession of the secret.

In respect to the question at issue, he thus states it: *Is christian perfection attainable in this life?* p. 25. No other question is blended with this, in its first statement. But on p. 35, in violation of the laws of just reasoning, there is an *amendment* introduced, with no previous notice: "We have the same evidence from Scripture that all Christians may, *and that some of them will*, attain to a state of entire sanctification in this life, that we have that they will attain to that state in heaven."—



This remark of the author, and the whole tenor of his discourses, show that the main question in his mind is not the one first announced, but another, introduced ten pages afterwards.

Mr. Mahan makes the impression, by his mode of presenting and discussing the subject at first, that his brethren, who differ from him, disbelieve the attainableness of entire sanctification in this life. Now this doctrine is admitted on all hands. It was admitted by the Editor of the Evangelist in some strictures on Mr. Mahan's sermon when it first appeared in that paper. It is freely admitted by Dr. Pond.

It has been the experience of the writer of this Article, both to preach and hear preached, the doctrine of the attainableness of perfect holiness. Some of the very arguments employed by Mr. Mahan are those employed by his brethren on the other side; not however to show that any actually become perfect, but that Christians *ought* to be perfect, and to blush and be grieved for their shortcomings. At the basis of every exhortation to be holy, lies the metaphysical truth that perfection in holiness is attainable.

It was due from Mr. Mahan to his brethren and to the cause of truth, to present, in the outset, the real question at issue; to state what they believed and what they did not believe; to show, if he could, that the distinction between attainableness and actual attainment is a groundless distinction. But instead of this, he has argued, professedly, in discourses second and third, the whole subject in debate, and considered objections, without a single remark on these important points. And in a fourth discourse, which is nothing more than an expansion of his second argument in Discourse II, he has only alluded to them in a passing manner, and bestowed on them a most inadequate notice of a page and a half; at the conclusion of which he says, that "the advocates of the common theory are sacredly bound to take the ground that the state under consideration is not attainable, in any appropriate sense of the term." Is this fair and logical argument? Is it not rather the manner of a sophist, and better adapted to build up a sect, than to advance the truth?

As the distinction between attainableness and actual attainment is so important in the case, it is necessary to see how Mr. Mahan disposes of it.

He first asks, p. 119, "What evidence can we have, that such a state is unattainable, higher than this, that all Christians in all past ages have honestly and prayerfully aimed, and all

will continue to the end of time, thus to aim at this state, with the absolute certainty of not attaining to it?" Now we reply that an honest, prayerful aim is consistent with actual efforts that are not perfectly commensurate with human capacity and obligation. We admit that none can reach heaven, who do not honestly and prayerfully aim to do the whole will of God; who do not aim to do this with a higher corresponding effort than is put forth for any other and earthly good. But we affirm that no Christian has done *all he could*. In answer to a possible objection "that such efforts are not made with sufficient vigor;" he says, "that to put forth efforts with the adequate vigor, is the very thing at which all are aiming." Now the object of the aim is manifestly not the *effort*, but it is the perfect law of God. And this is not more a philosophical truth, than it is matter of common sense. For who ever says, I aim to try to do a thing?

In further effort to remove the distinction between attainableness and actual attainment, as applied to the Christian, Mr. Mahan endeavors to remove the parallel case of the sinner, of whom it has been justly said, that he is able to repent, in the absence of the grace which actually renews, though he never *will* repent. He asserts that to make the cases parallel, it must be supposed "that all sinners, in the absence of such grace, are honestly and prayerfully striving after holiness." Mr. Mahan here substitutes '*striving*' for *aiming*, though he has considered one the object of the other. Now what we affirm is, that Christians do *not*, to a degree commensurate with their capacity and obligation, *strive* to do the whole will of God. Here the cases are parallel. The sinner may honestly and prayerfully *aim* to repent, and *fail* in respect to *the work of repenting*. This can be shown on Mr. Mahan's own principles of interpretation. He believes that the individual described by Paul in 7th of Romans is not a Christian, but an unregenerate man. That individual says, "To will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good, I find not." He may *honestly* and *prayerfully* will, or aim, but *not in faith*. So the Christian may honestly and prayerfully aim, but not in that degree and strength of faith, the exercise of which Mr. Mahan says will be followed by perfect and perpetual holiness. And here too the cases are still parallel.

On pp. 113, 114, our author remarks that "the common impression seems to be, that men are required to do all this," (i. e. to cleanse themselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit,)

“in the exercise of their own unaided powers.” Again he says, “Now I suppose that all such commands are based upon the provisions of divine grace. The sinner is not required to make himself clean, in the exercise of his unaided powers.” And again, “Herein” (i. e. in the grace of Christ) “lies the ability of the creature to obey the commands of God.” And again, “The sinner is able to make to himself a new heart and a new spirit, because, he can instantly avail himself of proffered grace.” This is not the place to discuss the true nature of ability.\* But, to argue the point we are considering, on Mr. Mahan’s own principles:—If all sinners, in the exercise of their constitutional powers, can instantly avail themselves of proffered grace, then is it in the highest sense *practicable* for them all to become holy. But *do* they all thus avail themselves? We are then prepared to appreciate the obligation, under which Mr. Mahan affirms the advocates of the common theory are sacredly bound, “to take the ground that the state under consideration is not attainable.” We are prepared also to put back to him, the question he asks immediately before, “What conceivable meaning do such persons attach to the terms *attainable* and *practicable*, when so used?”

With these observations it is submitted, whether Mr. Mahan has fairly stated the opinions of his brethren who differ from him.

The other fact remaining to be noticed, is, that while our author insists so much on the belief of the doctrine of the actual attainment of perfect holiness, as essential to higher devotedness,† the latter, in his own experience, stands entirely disconnected from such a belief. [See pp. 224 to the end of the book.] He came to Oberlin with his mind pressed down with the in-

\* See a most able discussion of this subject in Dr. Skinner’s *Aids to Preaching*, etc. Sec. 6, 7.

† One out of numerous instances of this is on p. 123. “The grand mistake into which the great mass of Christians appear to have fallen, in respect to the gospel of Christ, is this:—Expecting to obtain *justification*, and not, at the same time, and to the same extent, *sanctification* by faith in Christ. The consequence of this mistake is what might be expected. The great mass of the church are slumbering in Antinomian death; or struggling in legal bondage.” It will be seen also that Mr. Mahan here discards the idea of progressive deliverance from sin. It is the sentiment of his book that some will actually attain to both sanctification and justification, entire and together.



quiry, What is the grand secret of holy living? In the fall of 1836, there was a series of religious meetings, and many professors of religion gave up their hopes, and appeared as inquirers. He was now pressed with more anxiety than ever before. In this state of mind, he called at the study of one of his associates, and disclosed the burden which had weighed down his mind for so many years. The conversation turned on the passage, "The love of Christ constraineth us," etc.

"While thus employed," says Mr. Mahan, "my heart leaped up in ecstasy indescribable, with the exclamation, I have found it. Immediately after this, I came before the church and disclosed to them what I then saw to be the grand defect in my ministry. Christ had been but as one chapter in my system of theology, when he should have been the sun and centre of the system. When I thought of my guilt and need of justification, I had looked to Christ, as I ought to have done. For sanctification, on the other hand, I had depended mainly upon my resolutions. Here was the grand mistake and the source of all my bondage under sin. The discovery of it was to my mind as life from the dead. The disclosure of this path had the same effect upon others, who had been, like myself, weary, tost with tempest and not comforted. As my supreme attention was thus fixed upon Christ, an era occurred in my experience, which I have no doubt will ever be one of the most memorable in my entire past existence. In a moment of deep and solemn thought, the veil seemed to be lifted, and I had a vision of the infinite glory and love of Christ, as manifested in the mysteries of redemption. My heart melted and flowed out like water. The heart of stone was taken away, and a heart of love and tenderness assumed its place. From that time, I have literally esteemed all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord, and the knowledge of Christ has been eternal life begun in my heart."

The experience of Mr. Mahan, so far as relates to new and brighter discoveries of Christ has been that of very many, who have thenceforward (with no expectation, however, of attaining to perfect and permanent holiness in the present life) gone onward, and whose path has been "as the shining light, that shineth more and more unto the perfect day." Said Cecil, (*Remains* p. 69,) "I remember the time, even after I became really serious in religion, when I could not understand what Paul meant, not by setting forth the glory of Christ, but by talking of it in such hyperbolical terms, and, always dwelling on the subject. But I *now understand* why he did so, and wonder no more; for there is no other subject worthy our thoughts, and therefore it is



that advanced Christians dwell on little else. I am persuaded that the whole world becomes vain and empty to a man, in proportion as he enters into living views of Jesus Christ."

In the experience of Dr. Griffin, also, about eight years after he began to preach, a very remarkable era occurred, in which his views and feelings became greatly changed in regard to Christ. See *Memoirs*, pp. 63—81. While holding sweet converse with Mr. Richards, (now Dr. Richards of Auburn,) the latter stated that a distressing conflict in his own mind was made to subside by a transporting contemplation of Heb. 7: 26—"For such a High Priest became us," etc. "As soon as these words were mentioned," says Dr. Griffin, "they appeared transparent, and to contain within them all I wanted, if I could only break the glass, and get at the treasure." The next day, he writes thus in his diary: "My heart has been moved and delighted with a sense of the priesthood of Christ. There is much more reality in it than I have hitherto discovered;—a reality which I am now convinced that neither flesh and blood, nor any reasonings can reveal. I am resolved to attend more to the epistle to the Hebrews, and not be confined to artificial and systematic views of my own. "This," he adds, "has been my great mistake." On the same day, he addressed a congregation after another brother had preached; and "although," says he, "I took no pains to speak, and was only struggling in vain to get out the sense of these things which was in my mind, the people were melted under the discourse." On another occasion, he preached when some ministers were present; and such was the power with which he spoke, that they felt they never had any religion themselves. So different indeed were his own views that he almost concluded he had himself never experienced the new birth before.

Now if Mr. Mahan had made his experience thus far, the guide to his instructions on the subject of christian holiness; if he had urged his brethren far and near to know and preach more of Christ; if he had sent a book, of which this was the leading feature, into the hands of ministers and the churches, he would have performed a needed work, nor labored in vain. There can be no true holiness but that which consists of the spirit of Christ. Nor can that be attained except so far as it comes by "beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord," and except so far as we "are changed into the same image from glory to glory." Says Dr. Griffin, "It is the cross of Christ,

seen and felt, that must crucify sin." And he adds, "I clearly perceive that if this principle should become strong enough, it would drive all sin from my heart, and make me holy as God is holy." That we do not make enough of Christ in our ministrations, nor study him as we ought in our closets; that the great truth "Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God,"—"Christ Jesus, who of God is made unto us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption,"—has not held its due rank among the churches, none will attempt to deny. May the day be hastened when Christians, with one heart and voice, shall unite even here on earth, to "*crown him Lord of all.*"

But let us return to our author, and hear his experience still further. "Now when the Lord Jesus Christ was thus held up among us by myself and others, a brother in the ministry arose in one of our meetings, and remarked that there was one question to which he desired that a definite answer might be given. It is this: May we look to Christ to be sanctified wholly or not? "I do not recollect," says Mr. Mahan, "that I was ever so shocked and confounded at any question before or since. I felt for the moment that the work of Christ among us would be marred, and the mass of minds around us rush into Perfectionism." With this question yet unsettled, Messrs. Mahan and Finney came to New York, and after prayerful study of the Bible during most of the winter, they decided it *in the affirmative*. "And since then," adds he, "we have never ceased to proclaim it, nor do we expect to cease proclaiming it, till Christ shall call us home."

Here then we pause, and ask: Why does Mr. Mahan strive so earnestly to inculcate on the church the doctrine of permanent perfection in holiness in the present life, when, according to his own experience, his belief in that doctrine was *subsequent* to his new views and feelings, and to the new power and success which had begun to attend his ministry? Why does he so vehemently rebuke the church for not believing a doctrine which, on his own showing, had nothing to do with his first and great discovery of "the highway of holiness?" Why insist so much on the doctrine of the actual attainment of perfect and permanent holiness in the present life, when the brightest discoveries of the beauty and glory of Christ he has ever had in his life, up to the time of writing his book, and two years after adopting his present notions, were during the period in which he did not

believe in any such doctrine and was shocked and confounded at the bare mention of it? Why, under such circumstances, if he wished "to throw light on the way of holiness," did he write a book on "*Christian Perfection*?" An answer may be found, perhaps, in the words of Cecil: "Man is a creature of extremes. The middle path is generally the wise path; but there are few wise enough to find it."\*

From the experience of our author, let us turn now to his arguments. These are presented in the second discourse of the series—the first discourse being introductory, on the *nature* of christian perfection. He states the question, as we have already remarked, to be the *attainableness* of christian perfection. We admit that this point is fully proved. But in admitting it, we do not assent to the soundness of every argument, nor to the doctrine that a permanent state of perfection in holiness is ever reached in the present life. But as this doctrine is the real point in discussion, we shall consider each of his arguments with reference to the question, Is a permanent state of perfect holiness ever attained in the present life? To this point he has occasionally argued, while the impression calculated to be made on common readers of his book, is, that he is maintaining it in every argument he has brought forward.

His first argument is, that "the Bible positively affirms that provision is made in the gospel for the attainment of perfect holiness in the present life, and that to make such provision is one of the great objects of Christ's redemption." This proves nothing in respect to the real question at issue, unless it be contended that the object of the Saviour's coming being, as Mr. Mahan states, to raise Christians to a state of perfect and perpetual holiness in this life, that object has failed of be-

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\* The distinguished men, between whose experience and his own there is in some respects a great resemblance, rejected any supposition of the actual attainment of perfect holiness in this life, with abhorrence. Dr. Griffin, of whom his biographer justly remarks, that "the history of his life seems little less than the history of one unbroken revival; and it would be difficult to name the individual in our country since the days of Whitefield, who has been instrumental of an equal number of hopeful conversions,"—he could say, even while his Saviour was pouring a flood of light and love into his soul, "All the time, though happy, affected, and wondering, I was sensible that I had only a faint glimpse of the glories of God and Christ, and felt guilty that I saw no more." And yet again, "The more guilty I feel, the happier I am."

ing accomplished, except so far as real Christians have been raised to such a state. This proves too much, and of course nothing—unless indeed our author takes the ground that none will reach heaven, who have not reached a state of perfect and perpetual holiness on earth. He has not yet done this, although consistency will oblige him to do it, and possibly more ; it may compel him to consider, as excluded from heaven, all who do not become perfectly and perpetually holy, as soon as they are justified.

His *second* argument is, that “ perfection in holiness is promised to the Christian, in the new covenant under which he is now placed.” This proves nothing to the point, unless it can be proved that Christians perform every condition of the promises, and avail themselves fully of every privilege. Under this he has made this distinction between the old covenant and the new—that the latter *promises*, what the former *requires*. Is the old, then, without a promise ? Our author himself says, (p. 33) “ Here,” (i. e. in Deut. 30: 6,) “ the perfect holiness required by the law, is promised in the very words of the law itself.” But did the Lord actually circumcise the heart of that people, to love him with all the heart and soul, when they reached the promised land ? And was this true also of their descendants, as the promise affirms ?

To sustain his position in his second argument, he cites I Thess. 5: 23, 24, “ And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly ; and I pray God your whole spirit and soul and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is he that calleth you who also will do it.” This passage, he affirms, “ would place the doctrine on an eternal rock, even if there were none others of the kind in the Bible.” And as it is in direct connection that he makes a remark already quoted—that “ we have the same evidence from Scripture that some Christians will attain to a state of entire sanctification in this life, that we have that they will attain to that state in heaven,”—it is plain that he regards this passage as proving the point not only of the attainableness but also the *actual attainment* of perfect and perpetual holiness in this life. Now it is demonstrable that it proves no such thing. The preposition ‘unto’ is, in the original, the particle *ἐν*. It is rendered in Robinson’s Lexicon, under the designation of time, “ *in, during, on, at* which anything takes place.” The declaration, then, that he who had called them would do the thing for which



Paul prayed, only proves that **IN** the day of Christ's coming, they should be *secured blameless*—which is altogether a different sentiment from that which Mr. Mahan forces from the passage, by making it assert that some Christians are made perfectly and perpetually holy for an indefinite period here on earth, and *are kept in that state UNTIL* the coming of Christ.

To bring this into clear light, we will compare it with Phil. 1: 6, 9, 10. "Being confident that he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ. And this I pray that your love may abound yet more and more, in knowledge and in all judgment; that ye may approve things that are excellent; that ye may be sincere and without offence till the day of Christ." Here the first word '*until*' is the proper rendering of the original preposition *ἄχρι*; and the sentiment can be no other than that the work begun in them, (i. e. the work of holiness,) would not be finished *before* Christ should come for them. They would not be prepared for heaven, would not be perfectly holy, until the work should be *finished* (see *ἐπιτελέω* in Robinson); and that would not be *until* the period mentioned. The *second* preposition "*till*," is *εἰς* in the original, and is rendered by Robinson in his Lexicon "*against*," "*by*" the time specified. The apostle prays that they might so progress in love and knowledge as to be found blameless *by* the coming of Christ. It was only by going on toward perfection, that they would be found blameless *by the time* that Christ should come. By comparison of these parallel passages, we ascertain, then, that the sanctification for which Paul prayed, was a *gradual* sanctification, and not completed until death. In praying that they might be sanctified wholly, he had in mind the idea of its being progressive, until it was finished at the hour of the coming again of Christ, to convey his people to the mansions he had prepared for them in heaven.

The third argument, from the commands of Scripture, only proves human obligation, and implies capacity commensurate with obligation; but not that any man perfectly obeys, or ever will perfectly obey.

The fourth argument is from the prayer dictated by our Saviour to his disciples, together with the one put up by him, in behalf of the church, on the evening preceding his crucifixion. In respect to the first, can it be proved that the period will ever come when the will of God will be done on earth as universally and as perfectly as in heaven? Mr. Mahan does not try to

prove it. The Bible speaks of no such a millennium. The word '*as*' oftentimes means general correspondence, which shall exist with points of dissimilarity. Will not the kingdom of God have fully come, when in each heart there shall be a genuine work of grace, progressively increasing through life, and when not a hypocrite, nor self-deceiver, shall be found? Is not such a period worthy to be assigned the first place in our daily petitions at the throne of grace?

In respect to the second prayer, it is a mere assumption, that the union prayed for is one of absolute perfection in love. It has its fulfilment in that brotherly love which excludes division and strife, and draws forth the exclamation from the world, "Behold how these Christians love one another." This is not a state of sinless, moral perfection, nor is such a state necessary to make that impression on the minds of men, which shall win them to the cause of Christ. The different evangelical denominations in the city of New York, once met to pray and labor together for the conversion of sinners. And while they were thus of one heart and mind, one after another from the world exclaimed: My last plea for continuing impenitent is gone; I behold the love and union of Christians, and my heart is drawn to them and to Christ.

The fifth argument is from the fact, that inspired writers made the attainment of this particular state the subject of definite, fervent, and constant prayer. The prayer of Paul in Thess. has already been considered. The other passages are Col. 4: 12. Heb. 13: 20, 21. The thing prayed for in these passages is that the saints might stand *perfect and complete* in all the will of God, and that the God of peace would make them *perfect* in every good work. What was remarked on 1 Thess. 5: 23, 24, will illustrate the ideas in the mind of the apostle when he prayed for the Colossians and Hebrews. So far as our author derives any proof from the use of the word *perfect* in the above quoted passages, he has himself furnished a refutation, p. 72; where, in defining the word, he acknowledges that it sometimes means "*maturity* in christian knowledge and virtue." What meaning better suits the language of the apostle's prayers?

But suppose it means absolute moral perfection. It is proper to *pray* for that which ought to be *done*. Besides, are we to pray for nothing which we know we shall not immediately have? Paul desired to depart, when it was the will of God

that he should still continue in the flesh. He speaks of desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven. And might he not utter those desires, and may not every true Christian utter them, in the ear of his heavenly Father, and his Redeemer? This desire is *prayer*. So may the Christian desire perfect holiness; so he does desire it, and pray for it. And what inconsistency in this, though he does not reach it until death?

The sixth argument "from the promises of Scripture that are conditioned on this state," fails, because it is a mere assumption. Is. 26: 3. Matt. 6: 22. 2 Cor. 13: 11, and Phil. 4: 6, 7, are adduced. But these contain no condition of perfect holiness, except this is taught in the clauses—"whose mind is stayed on thee"—"If thine eye be single"—"Be perfect"—"Be careful for nothing." Thousands of saints, like Payson, Brainerd, Griffin, though they have felt conscious of not being delivered from all sin, have had these precious promises fulfilled in their hearts. Mr. Mahan, in his experience, affirms they have been fulfilled in himself; and that, too, when his book appears to be not wholly exempt from the sinful imperfection that is attached to the works of mortals.

A seventh argument is from the testimony of Scripture that some did attain to such a state. We will not stop to notice the very singular manner in which the main question is here brought forward, but will take the matter as the author chooses to furnish it. He begins with the character of Paul, and quotes Gal. 2: 20. 1 Thess. 2: 10. 1 Cor. 4: 4. Acts 20: 26. The strongest expressions in them all, are the following—"I know nothing by myself"—"I take you to record this day, that I am pure of the blood of all men." If all that Paul said, had been quoted, how would it sound? "I know nothing by myself, *yet am I not hereby justified*; but he that judgeth me is the Lord." That is, although Paul was conscious of no particular negligence in the discharge of his duty as a steward, he was not thereby *exculpated*. There was a judge higher than himself, to whose bar he was amenable. That judge looked on the heart, viewed things differently from man, weighed human actions with more accuracy, discerned things hid from the permanent consciousness of his creatures. On this very declaration of Paul, (a part of which Mr. Mahan has quoted, while he has left out what flashes light on the true meaning of all that he has brought forward to sustain his assertion of Paul's



perfect holiness,) on this very declaration, as on a rock, stands the doctrine that none can be at liberty to pronounce himself free from sin in the present life. If Paul could not, then who can? He was indeed an eminently holy man. He lived habitually in a state in which his conscience accused him of no particular delinquencies in duty. What he stated in his speech before Felix, to be his aim, he seems to have attained in this life, viz. "to have always a conscience void of offence toward God and men." But if he had been asked, What! do you mean, while you say you have no knowledge of particular unfaithfulness in the discharge of your duties as an apostle, that you are perfectly free from all sin? that you perfectly and always meet every point of the law of God? that every talent is improved, to the utmost, every part and moment of accountable existence? that every pulse of the moral man beats with perfect love, unflinching, to God and man? that your affections and actions, spread out over the commandment of the Lord which "is exceeding broad," perfectly cover it? that your life swerves not, a hair's breadth from the straight path of all the commandments of the Lord?—If Paul had been thus asked, he would have answered, God forbid! He does thus answer when he adds, Yet am I not hereby justified.—My consciousness being what it is, does not prove me free from sin.

In John 3: 21, and 4: 17, 18, the sacred writer, (our author affirms,) speaks from his own experience of the attainment of perfect holiness. But it is manifest he is speaking of all true Christians, who, nevertheless, are not wholly free from sin.

One more instance, and the only one, (though Mr. Mahan tells his confiding readers that other cases might be cited,) is Is. 6: 5—8, where the seraph tells the prophet, "Thine iniquity is taken away, and thy sin is purged." But as the object of this chapter was to describe Isaiah's inauguration into the prophetic office, the words above quoted are doubtless to be understood in a *ceremonial* sense. But suppose the sense to be moral. *To take away* sin, is to have sin *forgiven*. David, having sinned in numbering the people, prayed, Take away the iniquity of thy servant. 2 Sam. 24: 10.—Does then the forgiveness of the prophet's past sins, prove that he will not sin again in all his life; that his heart would be wholly free from sin the next day, or the next hour?

The next argument is from the fact that for every incentive to sin, a specific remedy is provided in the gospel. This



properly belongs to the first, and has therefore already been answered.

We have now gone through with all Mr. Mahan's arguments from the Bible. A few brief remarks will here be made, on his general argument, which could not so well be made in passing. In very many parts of his book, he speaks of the peculiar sentiments he advocates as being in accordance with the most direct and obvious import of the phraseology of the Scriptures—the import which most naturally suggests itself to plain, unlettered, unprejudiced men, pp. 103, 116, 117, etc. The writer of this article once heard a celebrated Universalist preacher exclaim, that it is the glory of Universalism that it expresses itself in the direct language of the Bible. The exclamation, repeated a hundred times, is no better for the one than it is for the other. It may do “ad captandum,” but will establish no one in the truth. And besides—how is it that the common theory of the church has always been, and is still, against the notion of actual attainment of perfect holiness, if this is so obviously the import of the Bible, as a common man understands it? Is the church now made up of the learned, and the wise; do the poor not now compose the great part of the kingdom of God? Or have the ministry usurped such power, that plain common men in the church are afraid to avow their belief?

Our author also remarks that a limitation of the promises, such as makes them teach not the doctrine of the actual attainment of permanent and perfect holiness in the present life, sanctions those principles of interpretation by which the worst forms of error are sustained from the Bible; and he particularly specifies Universalism, p. 60. He is rather too fast here. Is it on the principle of limiting, or *extending* the promises, as Mr. Mahan does, that the Universalist proceeds? Does the doctrine, moreover, that no man can enter heaven, in whom the work of holiness has not been begun and continued, in the present life, and finished at death, does this doctrine give occasion to any one to say, True, and no matter how it is in this world, we shall all be holy in eternity?

Mr. Mahan speaks of this natural import of the Scriptures, and the similar phraseology of the Bible in speaking of the attainableness of perfect justification, perfect and permanent sanctification in this life, and perpetual holiness in the life to come, as presenting “difficulties in which the common theory

is inextricably involved, as far as the laws of interpretation are concerned," p. 116, 117. Not to speak of the fog thrown around the question by our author's use of the word *attainableness*, we ask, what are these laws of interpretation? One of them is the following, and we repeat it from Mr. Mahan's own lips: "When the sacred writers would express a fact which is true of the majority of men, though not of every individual, they make use, in most instances, of universal terms," p. 82. This principle reaches not only men, but *things*. It reaches, in the first place, the argument that some did attain to a state of perfect and perpetual holiness on earth. The Scriptures in speaking of the exercises of Paul, and of other holy men, describe them in "*universal terms*," describe the "*majority*" of their holy exercises. It reaches, in the next place, the sixth argument from the promises conditioned on a state of perfect holiness, and limits many of the passages adduced under the argument from the new covenant. God may not promise a state of perfect and *perpetual* holiness on earth. *Perfect* holiness he may promise, in the sense that so far as holy emotions shall be exercised, and holy acts performed, they are in themselves perfect both in kind and degree. This is not, however, a *perpetual* state; the mind is not without sin through a single day. But perfect holiness may not be promised at all in the sense of being disconnected from sin. The passage on which Mr. Mahan most relies, 1 Thess. 5: 23, 24, we have seen, promises no such thing. So that even the *attainableness* of holiness cannot be inferred from the "*universal terms*" in which the new covenant and the promises are expressed. Real holiness, progressing through life, and completed at death, is promised in the new covenant, with a predetermination on the part of God to give it; with the foreknowledge that his grace would be bestowed, and the conditions fulfilled."\*

The Bible explains itself. In respect to the command of perfect love to God and man, there are no other passages which *modify* this; none which show that the language is that of mere universal terms, expressing a general truth which may have its exceptions. This command, the Bible everywhere

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\* These considerations will enable us to appreciate Mr. Mahan's repeated declaration, that for God not to intend to grant perfect and perpetual holiness on earth, is treating us with the most solemn mockery conceivable, pp. 45, 118, etc.

*confirms.* But in respect to the *promises* of perfect love, there are passages which make it necessary to interpret them in the sense, that although perfect and perpetual love to God on earth is men's duty, they never will render it, but on the contrary the holiest will exhibit *short comings*, nor be wholly free from indwelling sin, until they die.

We have now done with our author's arguments from the Bible, and pass on to a few others of a different kind. On the preceding, however, the whole question rests: It is a matter to be decided by an appeal to the law and to the testimony.

A ninth argument is, that no one can lay down any line this side of perfect holiness, beyond which it is not practicable to go. It is a sufficient reply that the Bible lays down a line up to which no man ever comes.

A tenth argument is the contrast between the language of the church and that of inspiration, on this subject. Mr. Mahan has partly refuted this himself, in his eleventh argument (which we answer in the present) from the convictions of the church as expressed in her covenants. "I have never," he remarks, "heard or read of such a covenant, which did not pledge its members to a state of entire sanctification." He also says p. 18, that "all agree that we are under obligation to make perfect holiness a subject of constant and fervent prayer, that God himself will thus sanctify us." Not to speak of the contradiction between this acknowledgement, and a previous assertion, that if a minister should begin to pray in this manner his people would think he was becoming a perfectionist, we ask, is this language of the church *different* from that of inspiration, on the subject? And where does inspiration affirm the fact of actual attainment? Mr. Mahan has failed to show us where. On the other hand, it affirms the contrary again and again.

A twelfth argument is the tendency of his doctrine, as compared with the opposite. In regard to the good tendency of this doctrine, (admitting that Mr. Mahan now represents a class distinct from those whom he calls perfectionists, and who hold that the moral law is superseded,) we shall see—yes, we shall see. But there are certainly those who have always thought that the perfectionists stood at first on the very ground where he now stands, and, from that, shot like wandering stars into darkness. It is certain that the perfectionists in England, in the time of Wesley, first stood on this ground. It is certain also



that the perfectionists in this country sent up a shout of joy when the banner suddenly was seen floating over the walls of Oberlin, bearing the motto, "Christian Perfection." Yes, we shall see.

In regard to the tendency of the common theory, Mr. Mahan affirms that any one at all acquainted with the laws of mind will see that it is impossible to aim at perfection on the supposition of its unattainableness? And he facetiously remarks in illustration: "Let the hunter point his gun at the moon, with the intention of hitting it." If our author means to convey any impression, it is that the church believes the attainment of perfect holiness to be as really *impossible*, as for the hunter to hit the moon. Every intelligent reader will perceive that this comparison does not exhibit the perfection of candor in the author. It misrepresents his brethren. But he himself once denied the attainableness of perfect holiness in the sense in which he now maintains it. And yet at the time when he denied it, and was shocked and confounded at the bare mention of it, he saw and entered with transport "the highway of holiness." He does not here give us a very favorable specimen of his philosophical acquaintance with the laws of mind, since his own experience, and that of a thousand others, apart from the doctrine which he now maintains, was so near to guide him to right conclusions.

In the pursuits of letters and the arts, many an artist and scholar have before the mind's eye an ideal of excellence which to them is absolutely unattainable. "They are conscious, even, that they cannot be a Milton, or a Webster, or a Phidias, or an Angelo, but they have the beau ideal before the mind; they reach forth to that which is before; they are drawn on by what the Roman Orator calls the "*aliquid immensum infinitumque*;" their conception of the object aimed at, is continually enlarging, and with it their aim itself grows more direct, and their efforts more vigorous, while they more and more attain. So with the Christian. In the pursuit of holiness he looks to Jesus as the perfect model, the "*beau ideal*." He sees that the whole question of human obligation to be perfectly holy, is answered fully in him. If he ever entertained a doubt on the subject, it is all chased away by the radiant glory beaming from the life of the Son of God. While the believer looks to him, it is as to the author and finisher of his faith; and he exclaims with deepest feeling,

"I cannot rest till pure within,  
Till I am wholly lost in thee."



It is the very nature of the new man to desire perfection in holiness, and to strive for it. That end *he also knows he shall attain*, at the hour of death. And death, he knows, may come *very soon*. He is constantly looking for the coming of the Son of man, agreeably to the injunction, Watch, for ye know not the hour. The law of that great attainment is, that he shall be perfect like his great master, if he shall persevere in copying the picture presented, until the Son of God shall himself come to put on the last finishing touches of the pencil, and present it faultless unto his heavenly Father. Does the common theory, then, render it "impossible to aim at perfection?" p. 119, etc. Is "the thought of arriving to such a state one of the most chimerical ideas that ever entered the human mind?" p. 127, etc. Are the laws of mind contravened? A more thorough acquaintance with them would have led Mr. Mahan to different conclusions.

A thirteenth and final argument for his doctrine, he has found in "the absurdity of the common supposition that the Christian is always perfectly sanctified at death, and never at an earlier period." To show this he says "that the application of the same grace would have sanctified the believer at an earlier period." How does he know this? We say it would not. Or we may say, God has not seen fit to apply it. He also remarks that "no other reason can be assigned for this grace being withheld, but the supposition that God can be better glorified by saints *partially*, than wholly consecrated to their sacred calling." We *could* give another reason, but would simply reply that no one who holds to the common theory, has ever assigned the reason given by Mr. Mahan. He may call the theory absurd, as he has done three times on half a page, and in one paragraph; but he was obliged to call in the aid of distorted reasons, nor has he shown its absurdity even with these. It is sufficient, however, that it is the doctrine of the Bible, as taught in Phil. 1: 6, 9, 10, and 1 Thess. 5: 23, 24. But why should it be absurd to suppose that as the body is a great occasion of sin, and is that in man which gives to temptation its great power, the Christian is not sinless until the last occasion of transgression is removed, and the original bias to sin wholly eradicated in the separation of the soul from the body?

The close of the second discourse, and the whole of the third, is devoted to considering objections. Mr. Mahan has answered some of these in a very unsatisfactory manner, and has, for some reason, omitted noticing at all the strongest arguments against

his theory. We will look at the disposal he makes of the petition in the Lord's prayer: "And forgive our debts, as we forgive our debtors." He says in reply that the principle, which makes this to mean that Christians will always have sins to confess, will prove that the kingdom of God will never come; whereas the time will come when this last petition will be inappropriate. Now the explanation of the phrase, *Thy kingdom come*, is found in the following petition, *Thy will be done*. Will the time ever come when it will be inappropriate to pray, *Thy will be done on earth*, as it is in heaven? What wresting of the Scriptures, to fortify a favorite theory!

The manner in which James 3: 2, "In many things we offend all," is disposed of, is yet more strained and unnatural. He says it means, In many things we offend all, as masters. What but theory could drive a man to this? No wonder that four pages of his book are found necessary to render plausible such an interpretation! The causative particle '*for*' connects the first and last clause together, not the middle and last. Says Dr. Robinson's *Lexicon*, the word "*γάρο*" is often found in *two* consecutive clauses, where two different causes are assigned." The participle is equivalent to the *first* use of *γάρο*. The apostle says, Be not slanderers, critics, on the manners and morals of others. This Mr. Mahan supposes to be the meaning of the first clause. How natural to suggest not only the motive of our incurring the greater condemnation, but also that of our being great offenders, likewise, ourselves. The passage thus interpreted falls into a very numerous class on the same general subject of exhortation.

Our author's five remaining discourses are on the New Covenant, Full Redemption, Special Redemption, The Promises, and The Divine Teacher. These are chiefly an expansion of Discourse II, and present no new considerations on the subject, beyond what have been noticed in the course of this Article.

In taking leave of this book, we feel that there are one or two things that call for reprehension. Mr. Mahan says that he met with a company of ministers in 1831, or 1832, who all confessed they had not daily communion with God, and wept over it, but neither knew how to direct the others out of such a condition. And this, he tells his readers in 1839, is a fair example of the state of the churches and the ministry so far as his observation has extended, which, he is careful to add, has been very extensive. It was Dr. Griffin's happy lot to find at least *one*

brother who was able to direct him. Yet our author, in speaking of his three years' course at Andover, says: "My mind does not recur to a single individual connected with that school of the prophets when I was there, who appeared to me to enjoy daily communion and peace with God."\* This was in 1824—27. The writer of this Article certainly knows that in the years 1828—31, there were very many whose fellowship was truly with the Father and with Christ. He was accustomed to hear, even in the lecture room, such mention of redeeming love as made it good indeed to be there. And from the lips of the venerable Porter, now among the saints above, he has heard such remarks as this: "Young ministers are apt to select subjects favorable to a display of their acumen; but the older they grow, the more will they delight to preach Christ." It may not have been the "*circumstances*," of which Mr. Mahan speaks, that kept him in a low condition of piety. It may have been his native bent of mind, which grace had not overcome. It was perhaps his tendency to "artificial and systematic views."

In closing his arguments, Mr. Mahan thus states the merits of the question: "On the one hand we have a long array of divine declarations in respect to the provisions of the gospel, also, a similar array of promises, and commands, and prayers. On the other hand, a small number of passages, a careful analysis of which clearly shows them to have no relevancy to the subject whatever,—passages, the most important of which have long since been given up." He then with the freedom of "a master of Israel" takes permission to allude to the manifest carelessness of the church in making up her mind on the subject as she has done, and adds that in reading the works of our ablest divines he has "been forcibly struck with the manner of treating the subject as indicating the fact that their minds were formed, and their proof-texts selected, almost at random, without reference to fundamental principles." We give to Mr. Mahan the praise of great diligence and labor. He spent a winter over the subject, preached a discourse, published it, defended it afterwards against objections, then made a series of discourses out of it, which he has preached and published. But whether his

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\* Wesley once said to Whitefield: "No Baptist or Presbyterian writer I have read, knew anything of the liberties of Christ." "What!" replied Whitefield, "neither Bunyan, Henry, Flavel, Halyburton, nor any of the New England divines? See, dear Sir, what narrow-spiritedness and want of charity arise of your principles."

hand has yet grasped "fundamental principles;" whether it can be said of his system, that "its roots are wrapped about the heap, and seeth the place of stones," is another question. This however may be said, that if he shall ever attain that perfection in holiness which is the requirement of the Scriptures, he will feel less confidence, than he appears to have now, in his arguments, and will entertain not quite so low an opinion of "our ablest divines." Perhaps, too, he will then see that he has occasion to say with David Brainerd: "When God sets before me any instances of *misguided zeal*, it sinks my soul into shame and confusion."

The state of the discussion may demand a few brief considerations, to strengthen the proof which has long been the defence of the church, in respect to the doctrine that none ever reach a state of perfect and perpetual holiness in the present life.

1. Besides the direct affirmations of the Bible, the doctrine is taught in those numerous passages which speak of sanctification as a progressive work, in the sense of overcoming sin in the soul.

2. It is taught in those passages which speak of the coming of Christ as the period when the work shall be finished, and the believer be made faultless.

3. It is taught in those passages which present our Lord Jesus Christ, in regard to his holiness, as an exception to the whole race of Adam.

4. It is taught in the passages which represent heaven as a desirable place because there and there alone is perfect freedom from sin.

5. It is taught by the whole tenor of the doctrines of the cross, as understood by the best informed and holiest men that have ever lived, and when their view was the clearest on a dying bed.

6. It is taught by the consciousness of the most eminent saints.

7. It is the inevitable result of the application of an acknowledged principle of interpretation already noticed: "When the sacred writers would express a fact true of the majority of men, though not of every individual, they make use in most instances of universal terms." This reaches both men and things. There are two sets of passages on the subject of perfection. One is limited in its own nature; in the very expression of its terms. The other is expressed in universal terms. To the latter, then,



and not to the former, the principle *must* apply. Job, for instance, was *comparatively* perfect, perfect *in the main*, perfect, perhaps, in the *majority* of moral exercises, at the time he was called so. Paul spake of his being pure of the blood of all men, in the sense understood in Ezekiel 33: 8, 9, and in the sense in which it may be applied to every faithful watchman, who gives faithful warning to the sinner. He spake of his being unconscious of sin, as a *general* truth; in the sense spoken of in 1 John 3: 9, understood, as the church has always understood it, in the sense of not living in what has always been called known sin and neglect of duty. This principle, then, is the high, impregnable fortress, in which the church is safe. On this she stands, and scatters her foes.

8. The doctrine is taught in a book expressly written in order to teach it—the book of Job. It was the subject of that divine poem, the great plot of the drama. The poem was constructed to present an occurrence worthy of divine interposition, viz. to show the fact, that the most perfect and upright man then on the earth, was not wholly free from sin.\*

9. Finally, the doctrine is confirmed by facts established in the philosophy of mind. Mr. Dugald Stewart argues, that in the case of a performance on a musical instrument, every motion of every finger is preceded by an act of the will. And this remark he extends so as to include all our habitual actions. He remarks also that the equilibrist, who balances himself on a wire, and in this position holds a rod on the end of his finger, together with two or three others on different parts of his body, must watch every inclination of the rods from their proper position, and counteract this inclination by a contrary movement. His eye glances from one to the other with inconceivable rapidity. And as all these motions are such as he cannot calculate on beforehand, every movement of the body must be preceded by an act of the will. The general truth is then deduced by Mr. S., that the mind, though it may be more or less conscious at the time of its perceptions and thoughts and volitions, yet thinks and wills so rapidly as not to be able afterwards to recollect them.

Now to apply this to the question of perfection, may it not be asked, with all just inquiry, of one who claims to be sinless

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\* “Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit.”—*Hor. Ars. Poetica.*

here on earth,—What ! can you recollect all the acts of your will during the last twelve hours ? Since no man is free from temptation, can you affirm that you have not sinned in the eye of God, when it immediately escaped your consciousness, and now evades, like a thousand other things, the powers of your recollection ? And as “the heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked,” may you not be deceived in your estimate even of that part of the day, over which your recollection extends ; if you think that no sin of ignorance has been committed with the means of present knowledge within your reach ; that every affection has to the utmost extent of your capacity of emotion, covered the great precept of love to God and man ? It is difficult to conceive how a Christian can stand up with confident affirmations to such questions as these.

A few practical remarks will close this Article. If the true Christian should ever in this life reach so near perfection as to be guilty of but a single sin of omission during the day, and that sin a failure in strong emotion of gratitude to God for the least of his mercies, he would abhor that one sin, and look anew for forgiveness to redeeming blood. O, how much more has he to mourn over than this one sin !

He will have the standard of perfect holiness before his mind. The perfect law of God is written for him not on mere paper or parchment, but agreeably to the promise in the new covenant, on his heart. Not more certainly does the magnetized needle turn to the polar star, than are the aspirations of the new man, whom the love of Christ has drawn into the pursuits of holiness, directed to perfect conformity to the law of God. His mind is held to the contemplation, and his feet directed into the way, of truth, by “a love of divine things for the beauty and sweetness of their moral excellency.” Like David Brainerd he will exclaim : “O that my soul were *holy as he is holy* ! O that it were *pure, even as Christ is pure* ; and *perfect even as my Father in heaven is perfect* ! These, I feel, are the sweetest commands in God’s book, comprising all others. O my soul, woe is me that I am a sinner, because I grieve and offend this blessed God, who is infinite in goodness and grace ! What shall I do to glorify this best of beings ? O that I could give up myself to him, so as never more to attempt to be my own, or to have any will or affections that are not perfectly conformed to him.” And in the yet more ardent language of the sweet Psalmist of Israel, he will say : “As the hart panteth

after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God. My soul thirsteth for God, for the living God."

There is one permanent and visible state which the Christian *must* reach. It is that where his life will be in general accordance with the requirements of God's word. He must be able to say with Paul, I know nothing by myself. He must live free from open, known sin, free from transgression in secret. His growth must be permanently upward into the stature of a perfect man in Christ. To this state he will be raised not by dwelling on any abstract notion of the actual attainment of perfect holiness in this life. Neither true philosophy, nor the impulses of the new man, will lead him to this. But by beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, he will be thus changed into the same image from glory to glory. By doing the will of God, he shall know more and more of the length, and breadth, and height, and depth, of redeeming love. And the truth shall make him free, increase his power, elevate his joy. Let the Church turn its eyes to those great *objects* which are adapted to excite holy affections, let the ambassadors of the kingdom of God hold up "Christ crucified," and the gospel shall be armed with the power manifested in the primitive age, in the holiness of believers and the conversion of the world.

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### ON THE NATURAL SIGNIFICANCY OF ARTICULATE SOUNDS.

By Josiah W. Gibbs, Prof. Sac. Lit. Yale College, New Haven.

*A New Dictionary of the English Language ; by Charles Richardson. Part XXX. Lond. 1838. pp. 72. quarto.*

THIS number of Richardson's English Dictionary consists of a preliminary essay, preface, and table of terminations. Our concern in this short notice, is solely with the preliminary essay ; the principles of which, we are told by the author, are exoteric to English lexicography. The general subject of the essay is indeed very important, but we are not aware that Mr.

Richardson's doctrine, whether right or wrong, has seriously affected his great work.

It is the idea of our author, which he endeavors to support from Aristotle, that every vowel or consonant sound has a distinct significancy which is still perceptible, when such sounds are combined together to form words. Although there is much that is unsatisfactory and highly fanciful in his development of this principle, yet we cannot withhold our grateful acknowledgment to him for bringing it before the public, inasmuch as the truth at which he aims is important in itself, and has been greatly neglected. We shall then, without any further reference to Mr. Richardson, endeavor to support the position, *that language is not entirely arbitrary or conventional, but on the contrary articulate sounds have a natural adaptedness to express specific ideas.*

This natural significance of sounds, although it has hitherto been exhibited imperfectly, and only in distant surmises, is now beginning to be regarded as one of the deepest and most important doctrines in philology. It is considered as an established fact, that any articulate sound has in itself a specific import. For in order to the existence of language, it is not enough that man has the organs of speech, that he has sensations and ideas, and that he has a desire to communicate them to others; but it is also necessary that sounds should have a natural adaptedness to express the particular sensations and ideas.

Although existing languages exhibit, as it were, only partial fragments and mutilated ruins of the ancient tongues once spoken on our earth; yet the principle for which we contend is still sufficiently evident in them, more especially in the popular dialects, and in the terms employed for describing sensible objects, operations, and relations. In innumerable cases, where the relation is the same, the same sound has been chosen, to speak algebraically, as the exponent of that relation.

It must, however, be remarked that the natural significancy of sounds is for the most part a matter of feeling, and cannot be exhibited in nice logical distinctions. Instruction on this subject can only furnish hints, which may awaken attention to the life and energy which pervades language, and give a general idea of the import of sounds.

Some of our best poets have been highly commended for adapting the sound to the sense. Surely this would not be



possible, unless there were some correlation between sound and sense.

The vowel constitutes the life and soul of a word, the consonant its body or form. The vowel is more fleeting and changeable, yet not entirely arbitrary.

In examining the import of the different vowel and consonant sounds, we shall endeavor to follow the order of their development. Hence we begin with the vowels.

### I. *The mean vowel a.*

The sound of *a* in *father* is to be regarded as the leading vowel-sound in the Indo-European languages; (1) Because it is the simplest and most easily enounced. (2) Because it is first enounced by children. (3) Because it is the most common vowel-sound. (4) Because it is a part of most roots, and (5) Because it stands at the head of most alphabets.

Among the uses of this vowel are the following:

1. As the enunciation of this vowel requires nothing but the ordinary position of the organs of speech with a simple opening of the mouth and breathing, it is the natural expression of passion, pain or grief; as Sansc. *ha*, Pers. *ah*, Heb. *ahh*, Arab. *ah*, Gr. *ἄ*, Lat. *ah*, Germ. *ach*, *ah*, Eng. *ah*, Welsh *a*, Irish *a*.

2. It enters into some verbs signifying to *breathe*; as, Gr. *ἄω*, Lat. *halo*, *halare*.

3. As the first and leading vowel, it is used where no reason exists for any special vowel. Hence it is found, as stated above, in a large proportion of Indo-European roots; in the technical names of the letters in Sanscrit, etc.

### II. *The extreme vowels u, and i.*

*U*, the lowest sound in the scale of vowels, is produced deep in the breast. Hence

1. It expresses low and obscure sounds; as, Gr. *μορμύρω*, Lat. *murmuro*, Russ. *murtshu*, Germ. *murren*, Eng. *murmur*; Gr. *μύω*, Lat. *mutio*, *musso*, Eng. *mutter*; Dutch *grommelen*, Eng. *grumble*; Dan. *grum*, Eng. *grum*, Welsh *grwm*; Gr. *γρύω*, Old Lat. *grundio*, Germ. *grunzen*, Eng. *grunt*.

2. It expresses *the red* in color, (for what reason does not appear;) as Gr. *ἐρυθρός*, *πυρρός*, *πορφυρεά*; Lat. *ruber*, *rufus*, *purpura*; Germ. *roth*, Anglo-Sax. *rude*, Eng. *ruddy*, Welsh *rhuz*, Arm. *ruz*, Lat. *russus*, *rutilus*, Fr. *roux*.

*I*, the highest sound in the scale of vowels, is produced high in the throat. Hence

1. It expresses whatever is clear, shrill, bright, or small ; as Sansc. *didhi*, to shine ; Lat. *viridis* ; Gr. *μικρός*.

2. It expresses *the white* in color, (for what reason does not appear ;) as, Prus. *sipid*, white ; Lat. *lilium*.

### III. *The mixt vowels o and e.*

The *o*, which is formed from *a* and *u*, and the *e*, which is formed from *a* and *i*, partake of the import of the vowels whence they originate.

NOTE. The force of the vowels may be best exhibited in words which differ only in their vowels ; as Gr. *κρώζω*, *κράζω*, *κρίζω* ; *μακρός* and *μικρός* ; *ἀλαλάζω* and *ἐλελιζω* ; Lat. *cachinnor*, to laugh aloud, and Germ. *kichern*, to titter ; Eng. *ball* and *pill*, both from Lat. *pila* ; Eng. *gloom* and *gleam* ; *flame* and *flimmer* ; *shake* and *shiver* ; *quake* and *quiver* ; *juggle*, *gaggle*, *giggle* ; *cluck*, *clack*, *click* ; *croak*, *crack*, *creak* ; Fr. *gronder* and *grincer*.

In passing to the consonants we observe, that the strong or weak consonants naturally denote strength or weakness respectively ; and that the consonant of a particular organ of speech usually enters into the name of that organ.

### IV. *The breathing or aspiration, h.*

The letter *h*, or the breathing, is naturally adapted to express *a breathing*, or whatever occasions it, *an aspiration for something*, or whatever occasions it ; as, Lat. *halo*, to breathe ; Sansc. *iha*, desire ; Zend. *honover*, desire ; also many Hebrew roots formed with *hhav*, *hav*, and *av*, Lat. *aves*, which primarily denote breathing.

### V. *The semi-vowels w and y.*

These letters from their extreme weakness are naturally adapted to express *weakness*, *gentle motion*, and kindred ideas ; as, Lat. *vado*, (comp. Germ. *waten*, Eng. *wade* ;) *veho*, (comp. Germ. *wegen* in *bewegen*, Eng. *wag*, *weigh*, *wagon*, *wain*, *way*, *wave* ;) *vacillo*, (comp. Germ. *wackeln*, Eng. *waggle* ;) *verto*, (comp. Lat. *versus*, Germ. *-wärts*, Eng. *-wards* ;) *volvo*, (comp. Germ. *wälzen*, Eng. *wallow*, *welter* ;) Germ. *wallen*, to spring

up, (whence Eng. *well*;) *wandern*, (Eng. *wander*;) *wehen*, to blow, (comp. Lat. *ventus*, Eng. *wind*;) *wenden*, to turn, (Eng. *wend*, past *went*;) *winden*, (Eng. *wind*;) *weichen*, to yield; *wühlen*, to stir. So *w*, when preceded by *s*, or *sh*; see below.

The Hebrew employs *y* initial, where the Arabic has *w*; and the Teutonic uses *w* initial in the interrogative, where the Sanscrit has *y*. Hence these semi-vowels cannot greatly differ in their import.

## VI. The liquids *l* and *r*.

These liquids are naturally opposed to each other, as smooth and rough. In some languages, as the Sanscrit, they constitute vowels.

1. The smooth liquid *l*, occurs in the name of the organ which is employed in its enunciation; as, Lat. *lingua*.

2. It occurs in the name of actions, in which the tongue is principally concerned; as, Gr. *λαλέω*, (comp. Lat. *lallo*, Germ. *lallen*, Eng. *loll*, Welsh *llolian*;) *λάπτω*, (Lat. *lambo*, Dan. *labe*, Eng. *lap*, Welsh *llepiaw*, *lleibiau*;) *λαφύσσω*; *λείχω*, (Sansc. *lih*, Lat. *lingo*, *ligurio*, Lithuan. *lezu*, Russ. *lizhu*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *lick*, Ir. *lighim*;) *ληρέω*; *λοιδορέω*; *λύζω*; *λωβάζω*.

3. It expresses *whatever is soft or soothing*; as, Gr. *λαύω*; *λεῖος*, (Lat. *levis*;) *λευρός*; *λιαρός*; *λιπάζω*; *λούω*, (Lat. *luo*, *lavo*.)

4. *L* final in nouns forms diminutives; as Gr. *ἔρωτύλος*, a little lover, from *ἔρως*; Lat. *scutulum*, a little shield, from *scutum*; Germ. *bündel* from *bund*, Eng. *bundle* from *bond*; Lat. *sacculus* from *saccus*, Germ. *sücket* from *sack*, Eng. *sachel* or *satchel* from *sack*. In verbs it expresses a repetition of little actions; as, Lat. *cantillo* from *canto*; Germ. *betteln* from *beten*; Eng. *prattle* from *prate*; *tingle* from *ting*; *tinkle* from *tink*; *crackle* from *crack*; *twinkle* from *twink*.

The rough liquid *r* has the following functions, either alone, or preceded by *k* or *g*.

1. It denotes *rattling* or *broken sounds*; as, Gr. *κρίζω*; *κροτέω*; *κρούω*; Eng. *croak*, *crack*, *creak*, *crash*, *rattle*.

2. It denotes *interrupted* or *distorted motion*; as, Germ. *rad krumm*; Eng. *ring*, *rind*, *round*, *cramp*, *crook*, *crown*, *gripe*, *grasp*, *grapple*. So *wr*; see below.

VII. *The nasals, m, n, ng.*

The nasals *m* and *n* are employed to express *negation*, being the natural sounds to express refusal ; as, Sansc. *má*, Gr. *μή*, *lest* ; Sansc. *na*, Pers. *neh*, Gr. *νε* (in *νήπιος*,) Lat. *ne* (in *non*, *nemo*,) Germ. *ne* (in *nicht*, *nein*,) Eng. *ne* (in *not*, *none*,) Lithuan. *ne*, Russ. *ne*, Ir. *na*, *ní*, Welsh *na*, *ní*, *not*.

The labial nasal *m* is one of the earliest sounds of infants, being formed by their practiced lips, and is used

1. To express the *mother* or *nurse*, on account of their objective importance to the child ; as Heb. *em*, Eng. *ma*, etc. mother ; Germ. *amme*, nurse.

2. To express the pronoun of the first person, on account of its subjective importance to every one ; as, Sansc. *mam*, Gr. *μέ*, Lat. *me*, Eng. *me*, etc.

3. To express one of the most important mental operations ; as, Sansc. *man*, Gr. *μηνύω*, Lat. *moneo*, *memini*, Germ. *mahnen*, *meinen*, Eng. *mean*, (comp. Lat. *mens*, Eng. *mind*.)

The lingual nasal *n* occurs in the name of the organ concerned ; as, Lat. *nasus*, Eng. *nose*.

VIII. *The dentals, s, sh, z, zh.*

The name *sibilants* given to this class of letters sufficiently indicates their import ; comp. Lat. *sibilo*.

*Ss* final denotes *sharp sounds* ; as, Eng. *hiss*, *siss*, *whisper*, *whistle*.

*Z* final denotes *sounds less sharp* ; as Eng. *whiz*, *buzz*.

*Sh* final denotes *silence* ; as *hush* ; also *sounds* or *sights which break off suddenly* ; as Eng. *clash*, *crash*, *flask*, *splash*.

*Sh*, initial expresses *aversion* ; as Germ. *scheu*, Eng. *shy* ; Eng. *pshaw* ; *shogh*.

IX. *The palatal mutes, c or k, g, kh, gh.*

The import of the *palatals* is the least definite. Yet the atonic *k* is justly supposed to have a natural appropriateness to perform the function of an *interrogative* ; as, Sansc. *kas*, Gr. *κος* (whence *κότερος*,) Lat. *quis*, Meso-Goth. *hwas*, Lithuan. *kas*, Russ. *koi*, Gael. *co*, who ? A palatal is also found in words denoting *hollowness* and *holding* ; as, Gr. *κοῖλος*, (whence Lat. *coelum* ;) Lat. *cavus*, *capio*.



X. *The lingual mutes, t, d, th, dh.*

1. The lingual, whether atonic or subtonic, has a natural adaptedness to perform the function of a *demonstrative*; as, Sansc. *tat*, it, *tataras*, one of two; Gr. τό, τοῦτο, τόσος, τοῖος, etc.; Lat. *tantus*, *tot*, *talīs*, etc.; Lithuan. *tas*, *ta*, *to*, that; Goth. *thata*, that; Germ. *der*, *die*, *das*, this; Eng. *that*, *this*, etc.

2. The lingual is also found in three families of words, very extensively diffused through the Indo-European languages, each of which has the general import of *pointing* or *demonstrating*; as, (1) Sansc. *tan*, Gr. *ταύω*, *τείνω*, Lat. *teneo*, *tendo*, Germ. *dehnen*, Russ. *tianu*, Eng. *tend*. (2) Sansc. *dis*, Gr. *δείκω*, Lat. *dico*, *doceo*, Germ. *zeigen*, Irish *teagasgaim*, Eng. *teach*. (3) Sansc. *da*, Gr. *δύω*, *δίδωμι*, Lat. *do*, Lithuan. *dumi*, Russ. *daiu*, to give.

XI. *The labial mutes, p, b, ph, v.*

1. The *labials*, from the ease with which they are enounced, have been employed to denote the first objects which interest the child; as, Sansc. *pitar*, Zend *paitar*, Pers. *padar*, Gr. *πάτηρ*, Lat. *pater*, Russ. *batia*, Germ. *vater*, Eng. *father*, Turk. *peder*; also Eng. *papa*.

2. They denote *fullness* or *extension*, from their swelling the cheeks; as, Gr. *πλέος*, *πλήρης*, Lat. *pleo*, *plenus*, Germ. *füllen*, *voll*, Eng. *fill*, *full*.

3. They also express *aversion*, from their puffing or blowing; as, Arab. *uffu*, Gr. *φεῦ*, Lat. *phy*, Eng. *fie*, *poh*.

XII. *The mixt consonants, tsh and dzh.*

These consonants are introduced here for the sake of showing the difference between the physiological and the etymological development of sounds.

*Tsh* in English, (where it is expressed by *ch*,) is not an original sound, but has arisen, in the mutation of languages, from other sounds; as, *chaff* from Anglo-Sax. *ceaf*; *chalice* from Lat. *calix*; *change* from Fr. *changer*; *cheek* from Anglo-Sax. *ceac*; *cherry* from Lat. *cerasus*; *cherish* from Fr. *cherir*; *child* from Anglo-Sax. *cild*; *chief* from Fr. *chef*; *chimney* from Lat. *caminus*; *choose* from Anglo-Sax. *ceosan*; *chuck* from Fr. *cho-*

*quer* ; *church* from Anglo-Sax. *circ*. So *tsh* in Italian, (where it is expressed by *c* before *e* and *i*,) has arisen from the Latin *c* ; as, *Cicero*, (pronounced *tshitshero*,) from Lat. *Cicero*, (pron. *kikero*.) Hence we have no occasion to investigate the import of *tsh* in modern languages. Its meaning, as an original sound in ancient Sanscrit, lies too remote for our present purpose.

*Dzh* in English, so far as it is expressed by *g*, is derived from Lat. *g*, which had a hard sound ; and so far as it is expressed by *j*, is derived from Lat. *j*, and ultimately from Sansc. *y*. Hence all inquiry as to the import of our modern *dzh* is superseded.

### XIII. Consonants in combination.

We shall perceive the natural force of the letters to better advantage by taking some of them in combination.

*Bl* and *fl* denote *blowing*, *blooming*, and *flowing* ; as, Lat. *flo*, Germ. *blühen*, *blasen*, Eng. *blow*, *blaze*, *blast*, *bluster*, *blister*, *bladder* ; Gr. *φλόος*, Lat. *flos*, *floreo*, Germ. *blühen*, *blüthe*, *blume*, Eng. *flower*, *flourish*, *bloom*, *blossom* ; Gr. *φλέω*, *φλίω*, *φλύω*, Lat. *fluo*, Germ. *fliessen*, *fluth*, Eng. *flow*, *flood* ; Lat. *fleo*, to weep.

*Cl* or *kl* denotes *cleaving* or *adhering* ; as, Eng. *cleave*, *clay*, (adhesive earth,) *cling*, *clinch*, *clutch*, *climb*, (whence *clamber*,) *clot*, (whence *clod*,) *clasp*.

*Cr* or *kr*, see the force of the letter *r* above.

*Gl* denotes *smoothness* or *silent motion* ; as, Eng. *glib*, *glide*.

*Gn*, *jn* or *kn* denotes *a sudden breaking off* ; as, Sansc. *janus*, Gr. *γωνή*, Lat. *genu*, Germ. *knie*, Eng. *knee* ; Lat. *janua*, (a break in a wall).

*Gr*, see the force of the letter *r* above.

*Kn*, see *gn* above.

*Shw* and *sw* denote *gentle motion* (comp. the force of the letter *w* above) ; as, Germ. *schwellen*, *schwimmen*, *schwingen* ; Eng. *sway*, *swagger*, *sweep*, *swerve*, *swell*, *swine*, *swing*.

*Sl* denotes *smoothness* or *silent motion* ; as, *slide*, *slip*, *slime*, *sleight*, *sly*.

*Sn* denotes *ideas relating to the nose* ; (comp. the force of the letter *n* above ;) as, Eng. *snarl*, *sneer*, *sneeze*, *snicker*, *snivel*, *snore*, *snort*, *snout*, *snuff*, *snuffle*.

*Spr* denotes *a spreading out* ; as, Eng. *spread*, *sprain*, *sprawl*, *spring*, *sprinkle*.

*St* denotes *firmness* or *stability* ; as, Eng. *stable*, *staff*, *stake*, *stalk*, *stall*, *stand*, *stay*, *steady*, *stem*, *stick*, *stiff*, *stock*, *stout*, *stub*, *stubble*, *stubborn*, *stump*, *sturdy*.

*Str* seems to denote *exertion* ; as, Eng. *strain*, *strenuous*, *stress*, *strike* (whence *stroke*, *streak*), *strip* (whence *strap*, *stripe*), *strive* (whence *strife*), *string*, *strong* (whence *strength*), *strict*, *strait*, *straight*, *stretch*, *struggle*.

*Thr* denotes *violent motion* ; as Eng. *throw*, *thrust*, *throng*, *throb*.

*Tw* is found in a large class of English words connected with the number *two*.

*Wr* evidently denotes *distorted motion*, (comp. the force of the letter *r* above) ; as, Eng. *wrap*, *wreck* (whence *wrack*), *wrest* (whence *wrist*, *wrestle*), *wrig* (whence *wriggle*), *wring* (whence *wrong*, *wrangle*, *wrench*), *wrinkle*, *writhe* (whence *wreath*, *writhle*, *wry*).

We forbear to add more, hoping that what we have said will be sufficient to support our position, *that language is not entirely arbitrary or conventional, but on the contrary articulate sounds have a natural adaptedness to express specific ideas.*

## ARTICLE IX.

### THE CONDITION AND BELIEF OF THE JEWS AT THE TIME OF THE COMING OF CHRIST.

*An interesting chapter from Jost's General History of the Israelites, in which he depicts the moral condition of the Jews at the period of the Christian era, and describes the origin and peculiar character of the Christian community. Book VIII. chap. 6, Vol. II. p. 60—68.*

Translated from the German by Rev. James Murdock, D. D. New Haven, Conn.

HEROD the Great tore in pieces all the frame-work of society, and gave it a new construction. Under him, the people so visibly lost their national peculiarities, that they seemed ready to become extinct. Trodden down and oppressed by a tyrannical government, they turned their anxious eyes towards the holy

Scriptures and their law, for comfort and consolation. They acknowledged themselves justly punished for their backsliding; and although the sanctuary and the sacrifices continued, yet every one could see, that a high-priesthood, which the king conferred on whom he pleased, and of whose incumbents he had deposed four and slain two, and a sanctuary which the king beautified merely as a permanent temple, the sanctity of which he was no way concerned to maintain,—could by no means satisfy the requisitions of God's government, and of the Judaism resulting from it. Besides, the national tribunals were disregarded, and the king alone enacted laws and appointed tribunals, on every occasion, according to his pleasure. The people had no protector, and they were harassed with acts of individual violence; some were carried away by ambition, others by self-interest; some acted from compulsion, others from bigotry and hypocrisy. What would be the result of such a state of things, was a question which interested every friend of the public weal; and it was answered variously. *One party* adhered to the doctrine of Judaism, and looked for deliverance by a regent of the house of David; *another party* were for waging war with every thing of a foreign character; and *a third party* declared the kingdom of God to be at hand, in the way of a general repentance and reformation.

I. The *first party* connected themselves with the doctors of the law, and adhered to their schools. At the head of these schools, during the whole reign of Herod, stood two men entirely disconnected with political life, who devoted their time to the study and exposition of the doctrines of the law; namely, HILLEL of Babylonia, renowned for the mildness of his disposition, his kindness and calmness, and SHAMMAI, a man bold, vehement, and decisive. Both were distinguished for learning, and both framed systems of Judaism, though they frequently clashed in regard to their legal conclusions on particular points. And hence their schools were afterwards opposed to each other, and were characterized, that of Hillel for adhering more to the sense and import of Scripture, and that of Shammai for a rigid adherence to the letter. Both these men mingled so little in the transactions of their times, that they became mythical personages. Only some particular sayings, characteristic of each, have come down to us. Thus Hillel inculcated, as the fundamental principle of Judaism, this maxim: *Love thy neighbor as thyself*. On the necessity of the early prosecution of know-



ledge, with his accustomed brevity, he said : *Unless I for myself, who will? If I only for myself, what do I become? If not now, then when?* On the nothingness of the world, compared with spiritual life, he said : *The more flesh, the more worms ; the more wealth, the more care ; the more wives, the more poisoning ; the more maid-servants, the more unchastity ; the more men-servants, the more thieving ;—but, the more knowledge, the more life ; the more reflection, the more intelligence ; the more benevolence, the more union.* Gaining a good name, is a good thing ; but a knowledge of the law, procures immortality. Respecting union, he said : *Separate not yourself from the many. Do not account yourself safe, until your dying day ; and judge not your neighbor, until you stand in his place.*—From Shammai, we have only a few sayings. *Make the study of the law the business of your life. Say little, and do much. Be beforehand with every one.* Yet the virtues of the man are particularly eulogized. By the influence of these two men, Rabbinism, or the authoritative power of the teachers of the law, became predominant ; Sadduceeism was nearly extinguished ; and the interest of students in the application of the doctrines and precepts of the law to human conduct, was amazingly shackled. By the Rabbis of after ages, Hillel was honored as being next to Ezra, the restorer of the law. (Succa. I. end.) To him in particular, has been ascribed the distribution of the whole law into six parts ; (1) of seeds ; (2) of women ; (3) of festivals ; (4) of possessions and property ; (5) of sacred things ; (6) of things clean and unclean ;—a distribution which has been permanently maintained. Under these six titles, are arranged all that Judaism teaches respecting the law ; and the whole collectively has since been called MISHNA, (Deuterosis,) or the second recension of the law. Yet all instruction was, at that time, given orally. Hence, though many persons understood the law, yet there were few who had talents for teaching. Probably the *Semicha*, or the consecration of public teachers by the imposition of hands, which three principal doctors practised, originated in this period. For not long afterwards, the learned were always called *Rabbis* ; which word became a title, and was an object of ambition. The introduction of such a mode of investiture greatly increased the power of the Rabbis, or rather, established it on a firm basis. Rabbinism directed its aims against paganism, and the dominion of the senses in common people. To all who intrenched themselves in this bulwark,

the civil government became a matter of indifference, because it did not secure the proper object. From that period, the adherents to Rabbinism have had a world of their own, in which they lived, and for which they died. We may also remark, that the Rabbis for a number of centuries continued their labors to bring Judaism to perfection. The men who took the lead in the work, set out with a very good idea, namely, to give to Judaism an enduring shell or covering, that should defend it against all the storms to which it might be exposed. But many of their followers embraced only the shell, and sought for salvation in outward observances, in much prayer and fasting, in strenuously combatting the slightest deviation from very trivial prescriptions; and thus, either they were altogether in error respecting the kernel of doctrine, or they put on an apparent sanctity as a cloak to conceal their moral conduct. The majority were enthusiasts, in the proper sense of the term, and lived only in an ideal world.\*

II. On the other hand, there was at that time a *large party*, who contemplated a full restoration of the Jewish commonwealth, and who overrated their own power. During the whole period of Herod's reign, this party was operative; and it rendered the king more tyrannical. During Herod's last sickness, it showed itself openly. *Judas* and *Matthias*, two respectable doctors, heated their scholars into insurrection. Representing the king's sickness as a punishment from heaven, they advised to the destruction of his unlawful works; among which was accounted the golden eagle, emblematic of the Roman dominion, placed over the great door of the temple. The spirited youth, giddy with the thought of a glorious conflict with the vast power

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\* Such is the picture which this learned and candid historian draws of that portion of the Jewish nation, who in the New Testament are denominated "the Scribes and Pharisees," and "the Lawyers" or "Doctors of the Law," together with their numerous adherents and disciples. It was against this very large and powerful party, that Jesus Christ and his apostles and followers had most controversy; and as the great body of the Jews, including nearly all the Rabbis, quite down to modern times, have belonged to this class, it is with this party and this system of Rabbinism or Judaism, that the christian church has had controversy for eighteen centuries.—The party which Jost next describes, was rather a political than a religious party. It is seldom noticed directly in the New Testament, but is very fully described by Josephus, and under the same name of *Zealots*.

of the Romans, hastened to the temple, and tore down the eagle. Herod who then lay sick at Jericho, caused forty of the perpetrators with their leaders, to be apprehended; and he summoned the principal Jews before him. The two authors, and the most active partakers in the deed, were consigned to the flames. *Matthias*, the high-priest, was deposed; and his brother-in-law, *Joazar*, put in his place. Thus the insurrection was checked, but the spirit of it was not extinguished. It was rather strengthened by the danger incurred. Scarcely was Herod dead, when the love of freedom everywhere awoke. *Sabinus*, a Roman captain serving under Varus the president of Syria, quartered a Roman legion in the castle of Jerusalem, and commenced an arbitrary course, which inflamed the opposition still more. On the next feast of weeks, the friends of liberty flocked to Jerusalem, and the conflict soon commenced. Arrows, javelins and stones, from every quarter, flew through the city. A part of the cloisters of the temple were set on fire by the Romans, and many Jews lost their lives either in the flames or amidst the ruins. *Sabinus* was forthwith besieged in the castle, until some of the leaders of Herod's party joined him. About the same time, *Judas*, the son of one Ezekias slain by Herod, took possession of the natural fortress Sepphoris. *Simon*, a former slave of Herod, a man of a fine form and of great bodily strength, placed a garrison in the fortress of Jericho; but he was soon after seized and put to death. Another, whose name was *Athronges*, with a large retinue commanded by his four brothers, set up a military government at Emmaus, slew the Romans and Herodians there, and sustained himself for several years. *Varus* at length appeared, with two legions and a body of Arabians and Phenicians, and vanquishing the insurgents almost everywhere, he marched into Jerusalem. About 2,000 persons were crucified, and many were sold into slavery. Much property was lost by fire and plundering. Yet the insurgent party still remained, secretly, in arms. They bore the name of *Zealots*, i. e. passionate for liberty; and they caused the ruin of their country.

III. A *third party* were actuated by totally different views. In the interpretation put upon the law by the first party, they could see only a tissue of external sanctity; and in the zeal of the second party, only a useless effort, that must draw after it the loss of what little union remained in Judea. Far from both, many, especially among the more plain common people, who had no thirst for distinction, and no solicitude to maintain the fallen



commonwealth; hoped for deliverance from the fluctuating state of things and particularly from the evils of immorality, in accordance with the generally proclaimed oracles of the prophets. There can be no doubt, that this expectation of a kingdom of God which should arise out of Judaism, and be a very different thing from what others anticipated, was very prevalent, especially among the later Essenes. They preferred a still and quiet life of devotion, and served the public chiefly as peaceful counsellors and revered wise men. The spirit alone, the divine, the all sin-subduing spirit, could put an end to their calamities, burst the fetters of the law on the one hand, and of worldly mindedness on the other, and by his truth, bring not only the Jews but all the gentile world to an internal tranquillity; which their religious, in combination with worldly power or oppression, could not secure. These views, more or less matured, pervaded and animated a very considerable number of Jews, who waited only for the manifestation of God, in order to see the work of redemption in successful operation. Their aspirations for it increased, as the calamities multiplied. That such views were liable to abuse, resulted from the nature of the human mind. There arose one *Theudas*, who gave out that he was himself the Deliverer. So also one *Simon*, called the Sorcerer, shortly after this period. They however disappeared, and effected nothing. On the contrary, agreeably to the christian doctrine, (which the Jews flatly contradict,) true deliverance was wrought by that *JESUS*, who was born of Mary at Nazareth on the very year of Herod's death; in whom were perceived, at the time of his birth, all the indications of the future *MESSIAS*, or the *Anointed*, the *Christ*. With his entrance into the world, the christian doctrine, or the belief in a Redeemer already come, began to be more general among the class of Jews just described. Subsequently they found their expectations fully answered; and thus, though remaining outwardly Jews, they were in spirit separate from them. Up to this time, they were a constituent part of the Jewish community; and in them the ground of various agitations, or rather embarrassments, may be traced. The opposition between Judaism and Christianity first became manifest, after the founder of Christianity had finished his earthly course. Though his life, in itself considered, makes no conspicuous part of the Jewish history, we notice it here, for the sake of marking the principal points of the above mentioned self-evolving opposition, which in subse-



quent times becomes of importance in the history of the Jews ; but we pass no judgment on the numberless different expositions of the existing narrations and traditions, because it would lead us into the province of theological controversies.—Recognizing the sinfulness of men by nature as a fundamental principle, the Jews anxiously desired to find an atonement for sin. This was symbolized by sacrifices and by baptism. *John* surnamed the Baptist, born a little prior to Jesus, and also destined to a high calling, travelled up and down the wilderness, like the ancient prophets, proclaiming : “ The kingdom of heaven draws near.” Kindly greeting all who resorted to him, he baptized many in the Jordan, and preached repentance as a preparation for the coming of the Christ ; whom moreover he recognized in the person of *Jesus of Nazareth*. Jesus also, honoring the national custom, received consecration from him. Exciting high expectations in his childhood, and astonishing people by his wisdom in discourse with the doctors of the law when twelve years old, he at the age of about thirty entered on his course as a public teacher. In Galilee his discourses had an overpowering influence, and soon his triumphant superiority in reasoning with the Pharisees and Sadducees in their own way, procured him the general esteem and veneration. The mentally diseased, often from mere internal conflicts exposed to exquisite pain, found relief by him ; and other sufferings he was able to alleviate, by his healing word. After various miracles, which were beheld with amazement, but which did not so penetrate the soul as did his instructions, Jesus announced his vocation as the *Christ*, the Anointed one, the Saviour of the world, the Son of God, and in general, as the person foretold by the prophets under various attributes ; and of course also as a *king*, yet not over an earthly realm, but over the spiritual world, which was to be new created. His friends who were in some uncertainty respecting his mysterious character, were at length brought gradually to the conviction, that he was the Deity himself, manifested in a human form. The Pharisees, who were advocates of the enlarged oral law, and especially of the expected glorious appearing at some time of a restorer of the commonwealth, saw in his denial of the holiness and atoning efficacy of certain precepts of the law, and in the announcement of his grand position, that redemption is to be sought for in a renovation of the soul, an entire prostration of their own system of doctrine. Although no one of the renowned doctors of Judaism

encountered him in debate, yet he had to answer a great many captious questions, and often to hear his doctrine branded as heresy. This occurred especially at Jerusalem, where his adversaries took occasion from certain expressions, to accuse him of treason; which the civil relations of the country easily offered the means of doing. A Sanhedrim assembled under the Romish governor, Pontius Pilate, found him guilty; and Pilate, contrary to his own convictions, yielding to the urgency of the excited people, ordered him to be crucified. But the execution of the Sanhedrim's sentence, had an effect very different from that contemplated. The headlong procedure, in disregard of the usual forms of justice, strengthened and united his followers. They saw in the transaction, not merely the execution of an innocent person, but a conspiracy against the Deity, with which he was filled, and by whose spirit actuated, he, for the salvation of all, gave up his body to torture and contumely. From the period of Christ's crucifixion, his followers ceased to be Jews, and of course pass out of the province of our history into that of the church of Christ. The Jews themselves did not at the time view this transaction so important, as they must afterwards have found it to be.

Notwithstanding this separation of Christians from Jews, the doctrines of Christianity, which had once prevailed extensively among the Jews, continued to operate among them, and gave rise to several subordinate sects, such as the Ebionites and various others, which gradually drew off.\*

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\* Several important facts are brought out, in this chapter, which merit particular attention, as coming from a learned Jewish Rabbi, who has devoted his life to the investigation of such subjects, and who is considered by intelligent Jews as the most profound historian of the age. They are the following.

1. At the time our Savior was on earth, the religion of the Pharisees and doctors of the law, and of their numerous followers, actually was just such, as it is described in the New Testament. It was professedly founded on an oral law, handed down by tradition. It was confined very much to external acts of worship, such as praying and fasting, and to ceremonial observances. All its prescriptions fell under one or other of the six heads, of Seeds, Women, Festivals, Property, Things sacred, and Things clean and unclean. It considered the punctilious observance of ceremonial laws as so meritorious, that no other atonement for sin was necessary. It knew nothing of regeneration, or a change of heart; and it made little account of the moral conduct. It expected a Messiah of the house of David;

but it supposed he would be a restorer of the Jewish commonwealth, and a powerful worldly prince or king over their nation.

2. This system of religion was not the pure Judaism of the Old Testament Scriptures, or of Moses and the prophets, but it was the device of the Rabbis, Hillel, Shammai, and others, who lived in and near the period of Christ's advent. It was however, not brought to perfection in a single age. The Rabbis labored upon it for centuries; and, it being a system of their making, it is properly called Rabbinism. In the days of our Savior it was taught only by oral communication; and it was afterwards embodied in the Mishna, which being the text of the two Talmuds, is of course the basis of the prevailing modern Judaism. The first authors and projectors of this system, had, no doubt, honest intentions; but they swerved widely from the Holy Scriptures, and they and their followers have lived in an ideal world of their own creation, and most of them were enthusiasts in the proper sense of the term.

3. Besides this numerous party adhering to Rabbinism, there were, at the time of Christ's advent, a very considerable body of Jews, chiefly plain common people, unambitious of distinction, and standing aloof from the political agitations, who held very different sentiments, and viewed the whole system of Rabbinism as a mere tissue of external sanctity. They looked to the Spirit, the divine, the all subduing spirit, as alone able to put an end to the public disorders, to reform the world, and to restore mankind to the lost favor of God. And accordingly, they were expecting a kingdom of God, a spiritual and holy kingdom, to arise out of Judaism, which should bless all nations. And as the times grew darker, and iniquity abounded, they became more and more ardent in their aspirations for the speedy appearance of this kingdom of God, for the advent of the Messiah, the manifestation of God, and the actual redemption of the world from sin. These views, more or less developed, spread widely among the Jews of that age, and especially among those who chose to live a still and quiet life of devotion, and to serve the public chiefly as pious monitors and revered pious men.—Hence,

4. Christianity in its great outlines, was no new religion to the Jews. Its fundamental doctrines had been known and extensively believed among them, before Christ came, though they became more general after his advent; and many of its prominent features lingered among them, after the separation of the followers of Christ from the Jewish church. It was in fact, taught by the ancient prophets, though obscurely; and it was from this source, that a knowledge of it was derived by the pious Israelites who died before Christ came.

5. Dr. Jost, though a Jew, delineates the character and the course of John the Baptist, and he describes the life, the preaching, the miracles, and the crucifixion of Christ, as fully as his limits would permit, and throughout, in perfect accordance with the statements of the four evangelists, from whom he probably borrowed his account.



Hence we infer, that in his view, the statements of the Evangelists are faithful and true, so far as facts are concerned, or that they are genuine and authentic history, and not spurious or fabricated accounts on which no reliance can be placed.

6. For the sake of distinctly marking the contrast—or “opposition,” as he calls it—between Rabbinic Judaism and genuine or primitive Christianity, Dr. Jost states the following facts: viz.—The sinfulness or depravity of men by nature, was the great and fundamental principle of Christianity, or the assumed fact on which the whole system rested. And hence, regeneration by the Divine Spirit, or the necessity of a change of heart; the insufficiency of good works, or obedience to any law whatever, to secure the favor of God; and the necessity of an atonement for sin, in order to the salvation of men; are among the prominent and most distinguishing doctrines of Christianity. Jesus Christ, moreover, announced himself as the Son of God, and the Savior of the world. And immediately after his crucifixion, his disciples regarded him as being so filled with the Deity, that the conspiracy against him was, in fact, a conspiracy against the Deity himself; and they considered him as having voluntarily given up his body to torture and contumely, for the salvation of mankind. Such in its outline, was primitive Christianity, according to the finding of this learned and candid Jew, who professes to have carefully examined all the ancient records and traditions on the subject, and then, without canvassing “the numberless different expositions” of those documents, to have given us their plain obvious meaning, as it appeared to his unbiassed and penetrating mind.—Let those who profess themselves Christians, and yet discard any or all these doctrines, account for it if they can, that such a man should find them to be obviously the great and leading doctrines of Christianity, as it was taught by Christ himself, and received by his original followers and disciples.

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## ARTICLE X.

### THE PHRASES ‘BORN OF GOD,’ AND ‘BORN AGAIN,’ IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

By Rev. Samuel H. Cox, D. D. Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y.

No real believer in the Scriptural doctrine of regeneration, can doubt its importance; and every experienced disciple, or every genuine subject of the same, knows its reality. He may indeed doubt, sometimes, whether his own experience of it is



genuine, but not that there is such a thing. If there be no such thing, as some venture to allege, then is experimental piety a vain imagination, and all true godliness becomes identical with a heartless and insipid devotion to merely exterior duties. But there is such a thing, as certainly as the veracity of Jesus Christ is incontrovertible. And hence, as indispensable to salvation, absolutely and in every instance, its importance is at once manifest and awful.

The valid and intelligent belief of this doctrine, is perhaps one of the easiest and fairest criterions, by which to discriminate the disciple from the formalist. He who holds the word only, while he denies, reduces, or sophisticates the thing, regeneration, is a very questionable sort of Christian. And he who mystifies or mistakes the true doctrine, although in godly sincerity of motive, often does a worse injury, in effect, than he who denies it. But there are various degrees of this last error, and arising from very dissimilar causes.

A false philosophy often vitiates the doctrine of regeneration, and vitiates also all the lessons of the pulpit in regard to it. Many err through a faulty phraseology, which in effect does justice neither to the thing itself, nor to their own conceptions of its nature. But there are phrases of exceptionable or defective quality in the wonted English of our very Bibles, which leave their imprint deep on the mind and radiate their own evil influence through the ministrations of a life-time. A defective phrase transmits a wrong idea, and on such a subject as this, may do incalculable harm.

One evil which improper phrases seldom fail to occasion, is that of offending taste, and alienating those minds in which the associations of scholarship and elegant literature predominate, over those of piety; to which one of the noble essays of Foster has done the happiest justice.

There are some objections that appear valid on several grounds, to the phrases at the head of this Article. That they are peculiar to a set of religionists; that they are easily perverted to the uses of cant; that they are improperly translated; that they are strictly inapplicable; that they involve a violation or abuse of a trope, their proper figurative sense being mystified by their use; and that the true meaning and the proper phraseology, as they would much better agree together, so would they better explain the great subject of regeneration and reflect light on topics of kindred character and greatness; all

this is alleged with conviction, and probably with truth, at least in certain aspects and relations of their use, against the phrases as now stated and considered.

We propose the substituted phrases, *begotten of God*, and *begotten from above*; and for that in 1 Peter 1: 23, ἀναγεννημένος, rendered *being born again*, we prefer, *being regenerated, not of corruptible seed*, etc. This last word, in its compound state, occurs only in one other instance in the New Testament; and that is in the same chapter, verse 3, and rendered rightly in the main; though we prefer it thus; *who, according to his abundant mercy, hath regenerated us*, ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, *to a living hope*, etc.

To be born again, is better expressed by the term *regenerated*. When however the word ἀνωθεν is rendered *again*, we object, that the less is taken for the greater, and the worse for the better. Its proper meaning, when connected with the subject of regeneration, is *from above*; which is also a richer and more lucid expression, showing the source, the paternity, the divinity, of the great change; and showing as well, by necessary implication, its grandeur, importance, and celestial excellence. Besides, the idea of *again* is fully and certainly included in the other, as well as surpassed and superseded in use. The word occurs thirteen times in the New Testament. In Matt. 27: 51, *And behold, the veil of the temple was rent in twain from the top [from above] to the bottom*. In Mark, 15: 38, the same. In Luke, 1: 3, it is used more tropically; *having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first*. The figure here seems to be that of a tablet or map of time, perpendicularly adjusted, on which, beginning ἀνωθεν, at the top or from above, and proceeding downward, the events are written successively, of which he had the alleged knowledge. In the same way is the word used by Paul, in his speech before Agrippa, Acts 26: 5. *The Jews—knew me from the beginning, (from the top of the record, ἀνωθεν,) if they would testify*.

In Gal. 4: 9, the word *again* occurs twice; and in the latter instance renders ἀνωθεν imperfectly, if not improperly. It means there, as in the two preceding examples, from the top downward; or, thoroughly, entirely; thus, *the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again, [or thoroughly, utterly, from above to below, or from first to last,] to be in bondage*.

In John 19: 23, we have it in the sense of *entirely*, and al-

most so expressed in our English version ; *now the coat was without seam, woven (ἄνωθεν) from the top throughout.*

In James, 1: 17, 3: 15, 17, it characterizes the good gifts and the wisdom that do, or do not, come *from above*, so plainly, that it could be rendered reasonably, in no other way, than it is, in those three places. In John 19: 11, it is also rendered as it should be, in the reply of the Saviour to Pilate : *Thou couldst have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.*

In John 3: 3, 7, 31, it occurs thrice ; and in the last instance it is correctly rendered : *He that cometh from above is above all.*

But in the former two, in connection with regeneration, it is rendered *again*, instead of *from above*, the proper and far superior meaning.

The verb γεννάω occurs 70 or 80 (perhaps 73) times in the New Testament. In its passive forms it will sometimes answer to be rendered into English, by the word *born* ; but not preferably, not strictly. It respects the paternity, not the maternity, of the matter or person in question. It means generally *to produce*, with reference to the relation of the sire or father ; though it often occurs, incidentally, so as to involve the idea of relationship maternal, or of being born. Still, it primarily means to beget, or in its passive forms, to be begotten, or produced with reference to the relation of sire or father. Thus it is used so often in the first chapter of Matthew, *Abraham begat Isaac*, and so onward ; where the idea of generation proper or the relation of the sire, appears, as the clue to the meaning, or its exemplification in its elemental original import.

Now in reference to regeneration, it is improper to say we are *born of God*. The reason is, plainly, that the idea of being born appertains not to the sire, but to the mother alone. Though figures must not be pressed into minute particulars, or interpreted as if they went on all fours in their similitude,

Quadrupedante putrem sonitu quatit ungula campum :

Though metaphors must not be taken for similes, or these allegorized into epic or history, yet we may carefully extend the figure, so as to include the proper maternal relation. The church is our mother. We are born of the church ; God is not our mother. The church is *The Bride, the Lamb's wife*. The figure pervades the whole Bible. *He that hath the Bride is the Bridegroom. And of Zion it shall be said, This and that*



man was born in her: and the highest himself shall establish her. The Lord shall count, when he writeth up the people, that this man was born there. But Jerusalem, which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all. Ps. lxxxvii. Gal. 4: 22—31. Is. 54: 1—8. God is our Father. He hath begotten us. Of his own will begat he us by the word of truth. The verb here is not γεννάω, but ἀποκνέω; occurring twice only in the New Testament, in James 1: 15, 18. Βουληθεὶς ἀπεκύησεν ἡμᾶς λόγῳ ἀληθείας. Hence the phrase *born of God* is quite improper. It is a mixture or perversion of the ideas that properly compose the figure, and is less a perfect metaphor, than an instance of catachresis, the violation of one, the abuse or mistake of a trope.

With these observations, we subjoin a translation of the conversation of the Saviour with Nicodemus, so far as relates to this subject, after a few preliminary thoughts.

1. It was oriental, ancient, and Jewish, to employ the paternal and filial relations, very extensively, very commonly, in prose and poetry, to express similitude of any sort, moral or intellectual, social or professional, incidental or physical. Of this the examples are too abounding and too familiar to need more than a reference to them.

2. Similitude, moral, is the basis of the figure, so often employed throughout the Bible in reference to vital piety, especially its commencement in the soul. Whence, *the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, [influenced supremely by what the Spirit saith to the churches,] they are the sons of God. Beloved, let us love one other: for love is of God; and every one that loveth is born [begotten, ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγένηται] of God.*

3. The word is not used with such a technical or metaphysico-logical exactness, by the inspired writers, as by the theologians, and especially the theologasters, of our day and nation. What extra-orthodox dogmatizer among us, would not feel his glory impeached, and his literalizing bigotry devoutly all afloat, if one were to tell a people in his hearing, from the pulpit, *I have regenerated you!* Yet the word γεννάω ever means as much in reference to initial piety; and is ordinarily used in this relation, in respect to the agency of God, as the Grand and Incomparable Author, ALWAYS, of regeneration, whenever and wherever the thing occurs. Still, in a sense equally plain, and plainly subordinate, and much unto edifying, and certainly scriptural,



and often necessary, as well as proper, may it be said that the preacher, by whom they believed, regenerated them in Christ! *I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you. For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten* [regenerated, ἐγὼ ὑμᾶς ἐγέννησα] *you through the gospel.* 1 Cor. 4: 15. *Unto Timothy, mine own son in the faith. To Timothy, my dearly beloved son. To Titus, mine own son after the common faith.* And in Philemon: *Albeit I do not say to thee, how thou owest unto me, even thine own self besides,* 19. *And, I beseech thee for my own son, Onesimus, whom I have begotten* [regenerated, ὃν ἐγέννησα] *in my bonds,* 10.

4. Nicodemus plainly understood the literality of the figure, although he stumbled at the sense, in reference to the paternal relation of begetting. Sapienti, non surdo, sat verbum. Quia in matris uterum nati non intramus, sed geniti. Nati autem relinquimus. Quomodo potest aliquis γεννηθῆναι γέρον ὢν; μὴ δύνηται εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ δευτέρου εἰσελθεῖν καὶ γεννηθῆναι; Intrare secundo! Quid sit, nisi ut referat quasi ad primarium introitum scilicet, cum generetur?

5. The eighth verse, *The wind bloweth where it listeth*, etc. has been improperly taken, by many, to refer to the mode of the Spirit's influences in regeneration, instead of their reality alone. This view seems to us materializing and unhappy. It is remarkable, through the whole colloquy, how strictly and steadily the Saviour testifies of things, facts, realities; requiring the docile faith of his pupil, to the official and solemn averments of one, whom he acknowledged rationally, as a teacher come from God. And it is equally obvious that Nicodemus affected, not faith and the obedience of faith, to which his unregenerate accomplishments left him a stranger; but the philosophy of matters, their modes and relations, or their rational credibility alone; without thinking how much faith became him, or how much it was deserved and demanded by his teacher. *How can a man be begotten when he is old? How can these things be?* With him it was all *How*, and not *WHAT*. Realities, as such, though declared with a *verily, verily*, and by Jesus Christ, and often reiterated, he cared not to apprehend or appreciate. The Saviour cared for these mainly, testified them palpably, and rebuked the unbelief that withheld his confidence. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen; and ye receive not our witness.* He

expostulates with the doubts of his catechumen, as it were, thus : Why, Nicodemus, do you not also doubt the reality of the wind ? It is a viewless, invisible agent. You know it by inference alone from its effects. It bows the foliage of the forests and the fields of yellow grain. It distends the canvass of the mariner and chafes the mountain surges of the ocean. But you never saw it ; nor can you comprehend its laws, its motions, or its modes ; or prognosticate its phenomena for a single day. Equally real, and equally palpable are the influences of the Spirit ; and equally credible, in the case of *every one that is begotten of the Spirit*.

We proceed to the translation.

Jesus answered and said unto him, verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be begotten from above, he cannot see the kingdom of God. Nicodemus saith unto him, How can a man be begotten when he is old ? Can he enter the second time into his mother's womb and be begotten ? Jesus answered, verily, verily, I say unto thee, except a man be begotten of water, even of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God. That which is begotten of the flesh, is flesh ; and that which is begotten of the Spirit, is spirit. Marvel not that I said unto thee, Ye must be begotten from above.

We close with a few observations.

1. To love the truth supremely, practically, habitually, and to take it thus for our rule in all things, is the proper proof and evidence of a regenerated state.

2. In substance the thing was the same always, and under all dispensations, and is as real as vital piety, as rational as the temper that obeys God, cordially and prevailingly, in all things.

3. The personality of the Spirit is illustrated by the phrases here preferred. The Spirit begets us, is the Author of our regeneration. The phrase, *begotten of the Spirit*, is kindred to that of *begotten of the flesh*, i. e. of a man or one's sire. It is the counterpart, exact and interchangeable, or rather is it another form of the identity of the phrase, *begotten of God*. Thus, 'Ο γεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος—ὁ γεννημένος ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, and these are often and currently used, with a common meaning and scope.

3. The correct phraseology favors the true idea of THE ACTIVITY OF THE SUBJECT in regeneration. It is not necessary that the figure should teach us everything about it ; and we must know more, than any one figure can depicture to us, of the whole subject of regeneration.

If God actuates the subject, through the truth and according to the laws—not of depravity, but—of mind, surely the subject acts. He concurs, acquiesces, and makes the transition *from death unto life*. He comes to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest. He repents of his sins, believes in the Saviour, joins his cause, and hopes in his favor and his faithfulness. Can God regenerate him remaining rebellious, hostile, and resisting the Spirit with full purpose and with all his might? Can HE do contradiction and absurdity, because HE is a sovereign, and because some theologians can conceive of nothing but passivity and materialism? If he regenerates a man, is it all one with regenerating a log of wood or any other unconscious mass? Is it not a nobler wonder, that he can conciliate an enemy, and engage his friendship, and make him a faithful and affectionate son, than that he could change passively the texture of an apple or a stone?

Some divines hold, and are not afraid to say, in illustration of their peculiar orthodoxy, that God could just as well regenerate a man when he is asleep, as when he is awake! This may be a very consolatory doctrine to some preachers of passivity, whose style and manner is proverbially soporific. Besides, I should think it quite true and logical, if a man is entirely and wholly passive in regeneration. Their faith might flourish more perhaps, and with quite as happy a consistency, if they were to add to the important illustration, “as well asleep as awake,” the equally credible ones, “as well drunk as sober, in blasphemy as in prayer, in the theatre as in the church.”

But their grand reply is, “So say the STANDARDS of our Presbyterian Church. How dare you commit the perjury of contradicting them?”

This looks much like the *ultima ratio regum*,\* like answering with the thunder of artillery. Mine answer to them is—

1) Regeneration, as such, is scarcely mentioned in the whole of our symbols; and except incidentally, not at all. The subject is treated mainly or only under the head of “effectual

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\* These Latin words, the writer has been amused with observing, cast in *bas relief*, quite frequently, on the cannon of the kings of Europe, by way of apology for their use; since the *last argument of kings* implies at once their logical patience and luminous demonstration preceding the use of their big guns, and also the incorrigible obstinacy of the people that needs and compels their reluctant resort to their *last argument*.

calling." And this involves no passivity, but expressly predicates its opposite. "Effectual calling is the work of God's almighty power and grace, whereby (out of his free and especial love to his elect, and from nothing in their moving him thereunto) he doth in his accepted time invite and draw them to Jesus Christ, by his word and Spirit; savingly enlightening their minds, renewing and powerfully determining their wills, so as they (although in themselves dead in sin) are hereby made willing and able, freely to answer his call, and to accept and embrace the grace offered and conveyed therein." Elsewhere, "effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ; yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace."

2) A worse objection is taken from what is apprehended as an express asseveration of passivity in regeneration.

Now that the subject is passive in adoption, justification, and election, is not disputed. If he is active in sanctification, why not in regeneration. If in the progress, why not in its commencement? The standards referred to say that the subject "is altogether passive therein, UNTIL"—mark it! i. e. BEFORE regeneration or effectual calling. What is the inference? Why that IN it, he is not passive, whatever he may be BEFORE it, and "until" the change occurs.

## ARTICLE XI.

### ANTE-COLUMBIAN HISTORY OF AMERICA. DIGHTON ROCK, —LANGUAGE OF SKRÆLLINGS, ETC.

By Rev. A. B. Chapin, New Haven, Conn.

THE publication of the *Antiquitates Americanae*, etc. has justly been considered an important era in the study of the early history of this country. But though few doubt the accuracy of the *conclusions* drawn by the *Northern Antiquarian Society*, many are disposed to question the soundness of some of the *premises* from which those conclusions are drawn. The two doubtful points, are the Dighton Rock Inscription, and the names of the Indians, given by the Northmen. We propose to consider both of these points as briefly as may be, to ascertain, if



possible, how much reliance can be placed upon these supposed facts.

In regard to the first, the *Assoonet*, or *Dighton Rock inscription*, Mr. Schoolcraft, (Am. Bib. Rep. April 1839, p. 444,) supposes "the event recorded to be one of importance in Indian history; and the characters, hieroglyphics of the Algonic stamp." But this applies only to the hieroglyphics, and in order to account for the *letters* and *numerals* which occur among the hieroglyphics, he supposes, "that some idle boy, or more idle man, added them in sport." In other words, he believes the inscription to be the work of the Indians, and "the letters and numerals" to be a *forgery*. That the Indians did not inscribe the letters is plain. Either, then, they are a forgery, or must have been made by some other people. The *Northern Antiquarian Society* suppose them to have been the work of the Northmen; Mr. Schoolcraft and some others attribute them to the moderns. To which they probably belong, it is our purpose now to inquire.

The *Antiquitates* gives nine copies of this inscription, made at different times, and by different persons. The last was made in 1830, by order of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and is a *perfect* copy of the inscription, as it *now* exists. That contains the following letters and numerals, in the order and relative position here indicated, except that the **P** (Th) is not quite in a line with the other letters.

ΓXXXI      M  
**P** \* \* \* \* \*      ◇RFINS

Between the **P** and O is a rude sketch of a person, as in the "View" given in the last number of the Repository. *Note*, that the **P** is not found on that *View*, nor is it in all respects an accurate copy. The other copies were made as follows.

1680. Rev. Mr. Danforth. This copy includes but a *part* of the inscription, and does not cover the place where the letters and numerals occur. Mr. D. "observes in relation to the inscription, that there was a tradition current with the *oldest Indians* [in 1680 and before], that there came a wooden house and men of another country in it, swimming upon the river *Assoonet*, who fought the Indians with mighty success." (*Antiq. Am.* p. 374.)

1712. Rev. Dr. Mather. President Stiles said of this, "A bad copy." In the place where the *letters* and *numerals* are now found, this has IXI Π.
1730. Rev. Dr. Greenwood, Professor at Cambridge. This is a mere sketch, but has XXX.
1768. Mr. Sewall, Prof. at Cambridge, assisted by Thomas Danforth, William Baylies, and Daniel Cobb. Mr. Winthrop, Prof. of Mathematics at Cambridge in 1774, in a letter of that date, says: "This [Mr. Sewall's] is the most exact copy of the inscription ever taken." He says also, "I went to see this rock above thirty years ago, and again last spring," and adds, "it is certain it was made before the English came to this country." (*Antiq. Am.* pp. 375, 376.) This copy has XXXI M and Þ.
1788. Mr. James Winthrop. This is less perfect than the preceding, in almost every respect. It has, IXXX N.
1790. Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin. This is more full than any of the preceding. It has, ΓXXXI M, Þ, and OR.
1807. Mr. Kendall. This copy has ΓXXXI M and ORINX.
1812. Mr. Gardener. This has only XXX, N and O.

We see, therefore, that there is a *general* agreement among all the copies, as to the existence of the numerals *at least*. It should also be observed, that all the copies of the inscription, represent the numerals as *contiguous*. Consequently there must have been three X's on the copy of 1712, and two I's, on that of 1730, because it is impossible that any letters could have been inscribed *between* those given by Dr. Mather. We have then, in 1712, IXXXI, and Π, which differs but slightly, from ΓXXXI and M found in the copy of 1830. But if this were not so, we have the evidence of Professor Winthrop, that the copy of 1768, was the best copy of the inscription, *as* it existed more than thirty years before, that is, as early as 1740; and this copy has XXXI and M, omitting only the first letter Γ, and the cross-bar of the last character, of what is now found. But the first letter must have existed in 1768, because an I existed in 1730, and the letter itself in 1790. And all these had such an appearance of antiquity, as early as 1740, as to leave no doubt on the mind of Mr. Winthrop, that they were made "*before* the English came to this country." In 1790, the whole of the first line of the inscrip-

tion, as it *now* exists, was found by Dr. Baylies and Mr. Goodwin. But this adds nothing to what we had before, except a cross-bar, on the top of the first, and through the middle of the last character. All of the characters in the first line, must therefore have existed as they are now found, more than one hundred years, and then bore such evident marks of antiquity, as to be thought more ancient than the settlement of the country by the whites.

In regard to the meaning or value of these characters, it should be remarked, that the first, F, is a common form of the letter C, among the Northmen in the middle ages. The last character M, is evidently a combination of letters, and appears to include the three following, to wit: NAM. It has all the lines necessary to compose these, and cannot well be made to include any other letter. The inscription, therefore, is, CXXXI NAM. If this be a genuine work of the Northmen, then those letters should have some meaning in Icelandic, which was the language of those adventurers. And such is the fact. *Nám*, is the first or third person singular of the past tense of the Icelandic verb *at n e m a*, to take, hold, possess, and signifies *took, held, or possessed*. The numerals CXXXI, in Icelandic, would denote either 131, or 151, as the Northmen had two kinds of hundreds, the common, or *lesser* hundred (=100,) and the *larger*, or as they called it, *storrhundrede*, (=120). If this latter be the true value of C, then the value of all the numerals would be 151, which was the number of men that Thorfinn had, when he landed at Vinland, or more properly, these numerals denote the precise number of men which Thorfinn had when he landed at Vinland, according to the history of Thorfinn, whatever might be the value of the hundred. The oldest manuscript account of the voyage to, and settlement in this place, says they had when they left Greenland, in all "40 *manna ok hundraðs*" *forty and a hundred men*. (Antiq. p. 137. Hist. Thorf. c. 7.) And another manuscript a century and a half later says, "*fjörutigi manna annars hundraðs*," *forty and an hundred men*. (Antiq. p. 169). And another manuscript has, "*xl manna oc c*." (Antiq. p. 385). And we learn from the same history, (c. 8. p. 143,) that Thorhall with *eight men*, left Thorfinn, before his arrival at Vinland. He had, therefore, upon his arrival at that place, "*xxxi manna oc c*," *thirty-one and an hundred men*, according to the manuscripts, and CXXXI. according to the Assoonet Rock inscription. The value of "the



hundred," therefore, no way affects this question, and need not be considered in this place. This, in connection with the person sketched, and against whom the numerals in question are placed, would seem clearly to indicate that *the person sketched, together with CXXXI others, took possession of, or possessed the place where the inscription is found, and made the inscription in the Icelandic tongue, in commemoration of that event.* We are conducted thus far, by facts which seem to us, to be above just suspicion; and when we connect these with the acknowledgement, that Vinland was *probably* in this vicinity, we cannot possibly resist the conviction, that the *view taken of this subject by the Northern Antiquarian Society is the true one.*

We have thus far left out of consideration *the name* inscribed on this rock; but even this we think has more in its favor, than against it. The **P** is on the copy of 1768, which is vouched for as early as 1740, by Prof. Winthrop. The **O** and **R** are on the copy of 1790, and that of 1807, adds, **INX**. But in 1830, an **F** is found between the **R** and **I**, and consequently it was *omitted* by Mr. Kendall. It also turns out, that what Mr. Kendall took to be an **X**, was an ancient form of the **S**; and the shape of the **O**, is such as was used some seven or eight hundred years ago. Added to this, the *letters and numerals occupy the central part* of the inscription; but do not interfere at all with the hieroglyphics. Consequently, if the letters and numerals are later than the hieroglyphics, then a place was left unoccupied in the centre of the hieroglyphics, sufficiently large to receive them. In order, therefore, to make out the forgery of the letters and numerals, we are obliged to suppose numerous things altogether unlikely and improbable. How came it to pass, we would ask, that just space enough was left to receive this inscription? And how came the forger to make his inscription correspond with a history, the very existence of which, was at that time unknown? How came he to hit upon the very name of the man who commanded the company that settled at Vinland? or to ascertain the precise number of men that were with him? And how came he to describe this in the Icelandic tongue? and in characters peculiar to the age of Thorfinn? All this we are obliged to suppose was done "by some idle boy, or more idle man," or else we must allow them to be *very ancient, and probably genuine ves-*



tiges of the Northmen. To our minds, the idea of their forgery carries with it by far the greatest improbability.

Another objection alluded to by Mr. Schoolcraft, is "the far-fetched and cabalistic interpretation of Prof. Finn Magnusen." This objection might be sound against the conclusions of Prof. Rafn, the editor of the *Antiquitates*, but for the fact, which Mr. Schoolcraft does not appear to have noticed, that the interpretations of the two men, were made from *different* copies of the inscription; Prof. Magnusen using the copy of 1790, and Prof. Rafn, that of 1830. Hence, though it is true that the letter of "Professor Magnusen recognizes the opinion of Prof. Rafn," it can hardly be said to "exhibit a synopsis of the reasons which led the learned society to its conclusions in regard to this inscription." This is especially true of the supposed Latino-Gothic  $\eta$  ( $n$ ), and the Runic  $\Psi$  ( $m$ ), as they do not appear on the copy of 1830, used by Prof. Rafn. And the OR, by proving to be part of a *name*, ceased to be subject to the criticism of Prof. Magnusen. Consequently the phrase *norroenis men*, *northern men*, and the possessive *or*, *our*, as read by Prof. Magnusen, are dissipated; and in room of them we have the name of *Thorfinn*.

The objection of Mr. Schoolcraft, that the Roman letters are not Runic characters (p. 444,) loses its force as soon as it is known that no one ever supposed them to be; and hence it is evident why "they spell nothing in the ordinary *Runic*, either backward or forward." (p. 445). That they are not Runic, but common letters, and that as such, they do spell something, we have already shown.

The other objection of Mr. Schoolcraft that "the names of the father and mother of the captured boys; and of the chiefs of their band, are not of the Algie vocabulary," seems not to have been duly considered. These names, as given by the Northmen, are written with letters whose powers are different from those of the English. Take for example the name of the father, given in the text, *Uvæge*. (Ant. pp. 162, 182. Hist. Thorf. c. 13). The readings of the different manuscripts give *Ovægi*, *Vægi*, *Ægi*, and *Ovæ*. Now the Icelandic *u* is nearly like our *oo*; the *a* answers to our *ah*; and the Icelandic *v* is generally supplied in the Anglo-Saxon and English by *w*; and *a* after *v* in Icelandic, like *a* after *w* in English is usually broad. And *g* in Icelandic, as well as in Anglo-Saxon, is guttural, and pronounced nearly like *y* in *York*, when it comes be-

tween the letters *æ*, *e*, *i*, or *y*. Putting the foregoing name, therefore, into an English dress, it would be written *Oo-wā-ye*; than which, nothing could be more Indian-like. In like manner the mother's name, *Vethildi*, or *Veinhildi*, becomes *Wā-thel-de*, or *Wāne-hel-de*; and the names of the chiefs *Avalldania*, and *Avall-didia*, become *Ah-wáll-dal-ne-ah*, and *Ah-wáll-de-de-ah*. But after all, it is matter of some uncertainty, whether these Indians were Algic, as they were not taken at Massachusetts, but "*at Markland*," (Hist. Thor. Karl. c. 13. pp. 161, 182), now Nova Scotia. Besides, it is very questionable, whether the orthography of the Northmen, conveys to us any true idea of the pronunciation of these words by the natives.

We have confined these remarks *entirely* to a consideration of what has been considered the doubtful part of the inscription; and though it would be more than we should be justified in assuming, to say that there *can* be no doubt of its genuineness; yet we feel that we are fully authorized to say, that its genuineness is *more probable*, than its forgery. Nor do we see, that the character of the hieroglyphics has any bearing upon this point; for if it should turn out that these were made by the Indians, it would throw no light upon the origin of the *letters and numerals*. Indeed it seems to us not at all unlikely, that *if* the Northmen graved the letters and numerals, the Indians did the rest. *If* the Northmen selected this rock, on which to record their possession of the country; what more natural, than that the natives should choose *the same* rock on which to record their expulsion from it? Why then, may it not be probable, that the portion which the Indians *could not*, but which the Northmen *could* have made, was actually made by the Northmen, and the remainder by the Indians? This supposition will account for the fact, that the letters and numerals occupy the central part of the inscription, without interfering with the hieroglyphics, and affords a sufficient reason for the tradition among the Indians, at the time the country was settled by the whites, concerning the people of another nation, which there fought the Indians with great success. While, therefore, we are not fully committed to its genuineness, we would not reject it without sufficient cause; for if genuine, it is certainly an important relic of antiquity.

## ARTICLE XII.

## REVIEW OF SELECTIONS FROM GERMAN LITERATURE.

*Selections from German Literature.* By B. B. Edwards and E. A. Park, Professors, Theol. Sem., Andover. Andover and New York : Gould, Newman & Saxton, 1839. pp. 472.

THE value of such a work as this is not to be measured by the attractiveness of its topics, nor merely by the importance of the ideas it may contain. The thoughts which a book suggests are often of higher worth than those it expresses ; and often too the form of a thought is worth more than its substance. To one who has been accustomed to contemplate the truths of science or of morals as pure logical abstractions, and who thus keeps them alien and distant from his life, let the same truths be presented by another in whom they are the product of meditative inquiry, and have grown up in his heart no less than in his understanding, and these same truths, which before had been barren and unfruitful, shall become living and life-giving. The abstraction shall become real, the phantom shall put on true armor, and fight side by side with him in the battles of daily life.

A true thought is an expression of one's entire humanity. Not the understanding alone forms it, nor reason, nor imagination. Each has its part in this mysterious generation, and every sentiment and affection aids to control and determine it. Our judgments are not simple but complicated of many influences, formed by many observations and the experience of years, lighted by every gleam of sunshine that has cheered, and shaded by every cloud that has darkened our life. The death of a friend may mingle hyssop in our cup of cheer, and long poverty make our life a wearisome pilgrimage ; and the afflicted shall grow sad and murmur over his untasted banquet, and the want-stricken shall curse an unequal Providence ; yet the mourner but yesterday saw only blessing in the order of the world, and the rich of the last year praised Him that giveth liberally. If our judgment of these high doctrines may be changed by the changes of our outward state, much more will our opinion of



lesser things be swayed and varied by passion and pride, by love and fear. The true history of a thought then is the history of a life. He only can think nobly who lives nobly. Not more surely does the spice plant of the tropics wither and die among the snows of Siberia, than do generous plans and lofty purposes shrink and shrivel in the bleakness of a heartless mind. The sins and negligences of earliest life have not lost their power till its close. They fasten on him who neglects and sins, like the sloth on the stag's haunches. So the virtues of youth make easier the toils of manhood, and the obedient child becomes the well-governed citizen. And these occult influences and effects are continually disclosing themselves to the eye of the wise observer and skilful interpreter of men. Hence to such an one, conversation is more than a mere exchange of notions. It is the revealing of a mind, a bringing to light of its peculiar and hidden experience. When a great mind speaks to us, or one that has its individuality, its own peculiar impulses, and has grown by its own law and not fashioned itself after the model of another, we are every man of us aware of the power of the charm. We feel moreover the thought which it utters to be valuable, not merely because it is true, but because it bears evidence of a natural growth in that mind, and partakes of his sympathies and relations; and we admire it, not because it is expressed with precision or in familiar terms, but because it is thrown out spontaneously, and is the natural language of that mind. We are pleased to see how a simple thought will be recast in the glow of an original conception, or a forgotten truism become living and graceful when it has dwelt in the heart. The varying character and experience of men, as they modify the form in which their conceptions are expressed, modify also the truth conceived. Truth doubtless is independent of us, and stands forever in the clearness of its own light. Yet if our eye be not clear, the truth, though bright, is dim to us. To the full apprehension of many subjects not only is deep thought necessary, but a peculiar life. The inward peace of christian love, and the calm assurance of faith are hardly intelligible to the sensualist and the worldling. The shortness of life cannot be felt in the flush of youth, but how deep its meaning to him of fourscore! We need the painter's eye to comprehend the work of his art. It does not then become us to weigh every man's sentiments in the scales of a mere judgment. When he speaks to us, we look to see not merely what he says,



but what he is. A single sentence not only gives us a new opinion, but teaches us how he has lived and what he has been. And this is a better knowledge, for it is knowledge of man. It comes to us not in his words, but his entire character and action convey it through our sympathies with him, and it is based on our common experience and common nature. Therefore we delight to converse with strangers and foreigners. We hope to acquire new thoughts, but we more wish to see how things familiar to us will strike them. We gain a new point of observation and the ludicrous becomes grave and the grave ludicrous. As in matters of daily life, so in the topics of speculative thought. The conceptions of nature in the mind of a savage may be of as much value to a philosopher, as a true theory of the world to the savage. Goldsmith's *Citizen of the World* is no less instructive than entertaining.

A communion with other minds is always profitable if we are on our guard as to the influences we shall receive. The best fellowship doubtless is with that of the strong and the pure. Still, we would not always be grave. We would laugh sometimes at our neighbor's witty and peculiar humors. A truly and well developed man must have passed through every variety of experience, and may learn from the companionship of fools, as well as from the wisdom of the wise. The contempt of Voltaire shall teach him an useful lesson, for he must know the barrenness as well as the fulness of humanity. Were we, however, to select one characteristic which attracts us more than any other, in friends, and books are friends, we should name, not undervaluing strength and purity, earnestness. We would have them indifferent in nothing. They should be fully possessed by whatever subject they are engaged in, be it chasing beetles or constructing a theory of the universe. Earnestness implies a moral appreciation no less than intellectual energy and purpose. It is a gentle but steadfast enthusiasm. Seeing with the heart, it magnifies, but it holds fast. This trait, though commonly displayed in particular attachments, is usually accompanied by what may be called an universal sympathy, which admires and loves truth and beauty everywhere. This is the spirit of true scholarship. As truth is a crystal of many sides, it sees them all; as it is a pervading principle, it rejoices in every manifestation.

The same principles of mutual influence and affinity apply to the community of nations, as well as to the fraternity of individ-

uals. The power of mutual benefit is a bond of union, and common sympathies a close attraction. The culture of one nation and its results furnish to another the means of estimating its own progress. The comparison also teaches an important lesson of differences, for every nation has its own peculiar principles of growth as truly as any animal or plant. Many subjects too of morals and politics can be rightly seen only from different points of view; as by many observations at one spot we can never tell if a surface be flat or globular. The experience of others places us in new points of view. We see with their eyes. If their spirit is different from ours, we are mutual gainers by the acquaintance. And this even if it be worse; but if their system of philosophy be more perfect, their frame of government better adapted, their general character excelling in that in which we are deficient, then is our gain the greater and more manifest. The difference between our national character and that of the Germans for example, is obvious, in the quality of earnestness to which we have referred. The tendencies of it, if not the quality itself, are diverse. One can hardly open a German book without being struck with their hearty love of knowledge, and strong faith in the worth of truth. They are content to have made a theory or discovered a truth, or ascertained a fact. With us a new application of steam or an increased velocity on a rail-way is of more account than a theory of ideas.

We commend, heartily, the plan of the Selections from German Literature, for reasons which we have intimated, and for others which are better said than we could say them, in the Introduction to the volume before us. We will add one consideration, which induces us to set a high estimate on this volume; and, generally, to regard with favor the writings of the well trained German. It is the thorough and scientific form of their discussion. There is a strong grasp at principles, and a fearless application of them. They seem never to have learned that good logic leads to error. They are fond of establishing premises, a service in our days of more consequence than right deduction.

The first article is on the early life and education of the Apostle Paul, translated by Prof. Park, from Tholuck. The points respecting the life of Paul have been ably treated by Neander, Hensen, and others. Selections from Hensen form in this volume a supplement to the discussion by Tholuck. The

questions which relate to his early life, are of great importance to the interpretation of his epistles. A knowledge of the peculiar discipline under which he was trained, of his natural temper which modified and was modified by it, and of his domestic history furnish a key to the solution of many difficulties ; for all these circumstances affected his character, of which his writings must be a true expression. Whatever changes longer experience may make in any man, his original constitution will remain substantially the same. Even the grace and inspiration of the Holy Ghost, while it effectually controls the whole man, does not entirely change him. The new principle of holy love acts and manifests itself through the natural organs, and according to the peculiar powers and temper of each individual. So the inspired prophets and apostles declared each one the message he had received from God, in a form determined by his own imaginative or sensitive or reasoning powers. While John could not attain to the logical vehemence of Paul, neither could Paul persuade with the subduing pathos of John. The waters alike pure, are colored, yet not discolored, by the soil over which they flow. We do not see how many peculiarities in the Pauline Epistles can be explained, peculiarities affecting not merely expression, but the whole style and order of thought, without a reference to mental habits which could be induced only by a peculiar education, and a somewhat peculiar temper. His vast theory of the government of God, as well as his strict and perpetual, and sometimes technical reasoning, show the original capacity of his mind and at the same time bear evident traces of the school of Gamaliel. The hand of this master is no less plain in the purely Jewish manner, in which many subjects are conceived and discussed by him. The degree in which an author gives his own character to his work varies with his own temper and the purpose of his writing. In a work of abstract science he may not at all. But in one which involves moral feelings and issues from the heart, it is far otherwise. And when his subject relates to the deepest spiritual interests of man, the heart that truly feels will overflow with emotion and show its sensibility in every line, while the strong intellect will stretch to its highest effort to possess the ideas which master it, and leave everywhere tokens of its struggles and its might. As the book is an image of the man, so is the man the interpretation of the book. The essay of Tholuck is a very fair exhibition of the testimonies and evidences which we have respecting the history of



Paul before his conversion ; and the application of the results to the elucidation of the epistles may be made of great value. It shows an extensive acquaintance with the literature of the subject, and a liberal appreciation of evidence.

This is followed by an essay on the tragical quality in the friendship of Jonathan and David, from Prof. Frederic Köster, of Kiel in Denmark. It is a fine specimen of aesthetic criticism. Indeed we have seldom seen one more thorough and finished.

The third article, translated like the preceding by Prof. Edwards, is on Prophecy and Speaking with Tongues, by Dr. L. J. Rückert, of Zittau, in the Saxon part of Upper Lusatia. It is characterized throughout by cautious reasoning. The author is careful not to overstate, and is willing to confess his ignorance, where his arguments do not plainly lead him to knowledge. He may therefore be considered a safer guide than most who have treated of this very difficult subject. His conclusion in respect to prophecy, mentioned in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, is that "A prophet was a man who, without any definite office, without any call made to him outwardly, spoke from an impulse of the Divine Spirit, words which would serve for the information, encouragement and strengthening of believers. He likewise uttered predictions of future events, if the Spirit suggested such to him." "The form in which the prophecy appeared was that of a language generally understood." Rückert's conclusion respecting the gift of tongues is in substance the opinion generally received in this country, that it was an actually spoken language. The whole discussion is very able and ingenious.

In another part of the volume are six highly interesting sermons by Tholuck, translated with copious and valuable notes by Prof. Park. They are, we believe, eminently characteristic of their author, filled with the out-breaking enthusiasm of a soul rich in spiritual experience, the solemn earnestness of a clear perception of the woe of fallen humanity, and a thorough sympathy with the aspirations and the hopes as well as the feebleness of men. They are full of thought, yet are never abstruse and recondite. They were delivered to the students of the University of Halle, and have nowhere the least tinge of pedantic ostentation. The preacher had forgotten that he was a scholar, when he entered the house of God, and spoke plainly of eternal interests to immortal men. The



wrathful displeasure of the Holy One is not left out of sight, yet his words are full of cheer and hope. The stern laws of Providence and the impartial and unchanging spiritual law of which they are the earthly symbol, have entered and possessed his heart,—the undefiled right, and pure, and inexorable duty are mooned orbs ever in his firmament—and yet the love that redeems and the grace that cleanses are always on his lips. He utters the curse of sin, sorrowfully, but without fear, as himself a partaker of the guilt; but the power of divine love, the peace of a purged conscience, the joy of steadfast faith and holy obedience, are the themes that move him to rapture. He contemplates the christian life from a higher point of view than is common with us. He feels deep meaning in the privilege that we may, be “*sons of God.*” He has realized that the Gospel is the *power* of God. The progress of a mind from the first dawn of heavenly life and the earliest perception of sin hated, and the law loved, through trials and temptations that burn away the impure mixtures; the gradual adorning of it with true virtues, the humility that exalts, the felt weakness that gives strength, the faith and charity and hope that are the elements of its life, growing in vigor and perfectness day by day, till the spirit becomes radiant with heavenly light, and meet for translation to the society of the just, he dwells on this as on a vision of glory faintly seen it may be through the mists of this low earth, yet a true glory that shall never fall or fade. His own soul has felt these things; his convictions and impressions are from no foreign source. There is; therefore, in all his feelings a sincerity and truth which the hearer knows to be genuine, and is constrained to sympathize with. Thus comes his power.

The discourses, thus the offspring of devout feeling, are provided with the elements of commanding eloquence. Add to these a rich imagination and a perfect command of the choicest variety of language, and we shall not wonder at the effects of Tholuck's preaching. There are plain violations of the rules of taste, as we judge, which an interested hearer in the church might excuse there, but are offensive in the closet to the reader. The sentiment, often surpassingly beautiful, makes us sometimes almost smile at its simplicity. The very fervor seems to be an excess. We give one or two specimens of his style, taken almost at random.

“Who can stand amid the scenes of nature on a flowery morning of spring, or in the starry night, without hearing the rush of that

stream of life, which from Orion flows down to the very heart of the earth? If thou perceive no other sound but that of the dark rushing of an unknown stream, in which thou thyself art but a single wave,—tell me, where is thy courage?—art thou not seized with a shuddering? Oh I have often had, often even in early youth have I been forced to have a foreboding of an unlimited Power pervading the whole world, and I had no name by which I could designate this Power, nor could I obtain sure ground for a conviction, that it was a Power of holiness and of love!—But to know, yea not barely to know, but to believe with a full heart, and on the authority of him whose word is itself a pledge,—to believe that this stream is one of love and holiness, that it flows forth from the heart of him, who has given his only begotten Son for the life of the world,—oh how entirely different a hue does this belief give to our faith in the universal presence of the Deity.” p. 67.

A passage on pp. 164—5 has been quoted as markedly showing his peculiarities.

2. “But, brethren, God hath come near to us, as God the Son, in the work of Redemption. Without Christ the heaven of stars, as well as the heart of man, remains to us, a sealed hieroglyphic. Seest thou not how men conjecture about it? how diversely they unravel it? how they interpret scarcely a single syllable here and there of the great enigma? The Holy, the Unknown, whose characteristic features thou couldst not detect when thou soughtest to decipher them from the flowers, from the stars, from the hearts of men; lo, he hath come forth to meet thee, he hath come near to thee, as a man to his neighbor; in Galilee hath he set up his tabernacle; look into the heart of Jesus, and thou hast read the heart of God; for, this is his exclamation, ‘Whoever hath seen me, Philip, hath seen the Father.’ Adorable love! when I passed thee by and knew thee not, then didst thou lie hidden behind the veil of nature; then did I form conjectures concerning thee, and my heart swelled with fulness of longing desire; but since I have looked upon thee in the Son of God, who hath come to find the lost sheep, and who inviteth the sorrowful and heavy laden to himself, since that time, I have looked directly upon thy face, and I know thee, and bow my knee before thee, and exclaim,—Eternal love! pass not away from me, from me the poorest of thy children!

Yea, my friends, what a hidden being is God, before he hath become manifest to us in Christ; and how completely veiled also is the heart of man, before thou learnest its character, in contrast with the Saviour’s. While I look upon him as the Son of God and of man, the feeling is awakened in my breast, that even I am of a God-like race; and yet, when I look upon him, tears break forth from my eyes; for alas, the God-like image within me is shamefully dis-

figured, and that which ought to reign in my bosom, serves. In contrast with his obedience, I learned my own disobedience; in contrast with his humility, I learned my own pride; in contrast with his compassion and the swelling of his heart with tenderness, I learned how cold and unfeeling was my own spirit. And I stood troubled exceedingly, and ashamed, and my tears flowed forth. Then spake a voice, from the throne of glory, saying, 'Weep not, for the Lion of the tribe of Judah hath overcome.' *Wilt thou be made whole?* 'Yea, Lord,' I answered, 'ah thou knowest how strongly I desire it.' Then said he, 'My Son, be of good cheer, there is help for thee; stand up and follow me.' And I followed him, and lo, I became conscious that he had not disappointed me, when he said, 'Whoever believeth in me, *hath* already received everlasting life.'

We doubt if the sermons of Tholuck would be relished, except as a novelty, by a New England audience, though they may be of great value to the clergy. They are glowing with feeling, but their method is often defective or not sufficiently obvious, the true method perhaps of strong emotion, but which the hearer will not go along with unless he in like manner partakes of the emotion. Our auditories are not content unless they have something which they can "carry away." They require clear statement and logical deduction. They would have the affections under the control of the judgment. Our nation has grown up under this preaching and owes much of its character for sterling sense and stability, to this training. We would not change it. Yet we think that the prevailing style of preaching among us, with all its excellencies, has also serious defects. It may not be thought improper for us briefly to allude to some of them. Without calling in question the truth of the doctrines preached, we believe that from the earliest history of our country, there has always been and is now a tendency to insist on some doctrines to the virtual exclusion of others. We have no doubt that a careful examination of the history of theological opinions would make curious disclosures on this subject. The tendency exists in every religious community, and in part results often from a wish to undermine the contrary errors. The doctrines thus made unduly prominent are different in different generations and in different sects. The effect of a course of preaching thus defective, is most unfavorable on the development of the religious character. In former times election and the saints' perseverance were the topics of many and frequent discourses. The latter certainly is not often



now heard from our pulpits, and in connection with it we have lost those clear and ardent exhibitions of the excellencies and joys of the christian life which encouraged the faith of our fathers. As another example, we may affirm that the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is very seldom presented, and hardly ever in those relations, in that strong evidence and awful interest with which the Scriptures invest it. The strong pressure of our community for many years to that form of christian duty, which consists in giving, and which has almost appropriated the name of benevolence, has withdrawn somewhat, we fear, the attention of the clergy and people from the quiet, meditative, inward work, of bringing every thought into obedience to Christ, not merely to Christ's last command.

Among peculiarities in the style of preaching are a marked preponderance of merely instructive discourses. These are necessary as the basis of christian character, and needful to keep alive the flame of devout worship. A single element introduced would entirely change the effect of our sermons, we mean the expression of an actual conviction by the preacher that what he says is true. Many of our preachers sadly want the appearance of faith. They speak of a subject which they keep at a distance that they may eye it coolly and tell what it is. There is a suppression of the emotion natural to the subject, and a fear, not ill grounded perhaps, of appearing strange. There is much too of what is called in this volume stereotyped feeling. Certain doctrines, it is thought, ought to excite certain feelings and no others, and the individualities of men are utterly forgotten. Two men can no more feel exactly alike in contemplating the same truth, than two can think exactly alike. Every man therefore should express precisely the feeling which the doctrine or precept awakens in him, and no more. Then the fire, because it is real fire and not painted, will spread, and every heart feel it. We will add that there is too little sensibility to the spiritual beauty of the christian system and of the christian life. Were we to designate by a single word the philosophical theory of religion prevalent among us, we should call it physical. The forms in which it is presented savour of materialism. Nature is thought too nearly to be an *adequate* exponent of spiritual things. Conscience has been degraded into a mere register and beadle, and the law of duty reduced to a calculation of prudence. The doctrine of providence has been robbed of its sublime worth, by an unnat-



ural divorcement from the moral economy of the universe. Didactic Theology needs yet an introduction into the higher regions of thought. As a natural consequence the system of religious truth, at least as it exists in the minds of many of the clergy, and practically administered by them, though formal enough, has by no means a scientific thoroughness. It is an aggregation of dead materials. It does not yet rest on ultimate, pervading, and living principles. The basis is of mere generalizations, and the principle of coherence is little better than a concretion.

But we must return, commending to our readers the invaluable remarks on preaching in the notes to these sermons to Tholuck. Appended to the sermons is a biographical sketch prepared apparently with great care by Prof. Park. Our readers to whom the work may not be accessible, will be pleased with the following notice of the literary life of this distinguished German which we have made from this volume.

Frederic Augustus Gottreu Tholuck was born at Breslau, the capital of Silesia, March 30, 1799. He is now of course forty years old. After a brief apprenticeship to the business of a goldsmith, which was the occupation of his father, and to which he had a great aversion, he finished the preparatory studies, and in 1816 entered the University at Breslau. He formed early in his university life a strong attachment to oriental studies. To pursue them more successfully he went to Berlin, where he found the means of gratifying his favorite tastes by the brief patronage of the prelate Von Dietz, and after his death by favor of the minister Von Altenstein who procured him a considerable stipend. Here he availed himself of the instructions of Ideler and Wilken. During his residence at Breslau and a part of his course at Berlin, he says of himself that he was a "scoffer at Christianity." On leaving the Gymnasium he chose for the theme of an oration, the superiority of Mohammedanism to Christianity. The change in his views towards serious religion began in the last years of his stay at the University. The change was much aided by the wise counsels of Neander, and the earnest piety of Baron Von Cottewitz. At the close of his three years' course at Berlin, he became one of the private teachers there, and in 1819 at the age of twenty was appointed by the Prussian government to succeed De Wette as theological professor. That distinguished man had by his various and profound learning made the task of

any successor, however experienced, a difficult one. In 1821 Tholuck published a volume of Hints for the study of the Old Testament, and a treatise on the Pantheistic Theology of the Persians. In 1822 he published his Essay on the Moral Influence of Heathenism, which Gesenius pronounced the ablest he had ever seen on the subject. At the age of twenty-five (1824) he published his Commentary on the Romans; in his twenty sixth year a translation of the Epistle to the Romans, an Anthology of the Oriental mystic Poems, and in the succeeding year a work on the speculations of the later Orientalists on the doctrine of the Trinity. In 1825 he visited England at the expense of the Prussian government, to extend his acquaintance with Oriental writings. In 1826 he succeeded Dr. Knapp as professor ordinarius of Theology at Halle, which chair he still retains. He now received the degree of doctor in theology from the University in Berlin. In 1827 he published his Commentary on the Gospel of John, which has passed through five editions in Germany and has been translated in this country. In 1830 he was appointed Court Preacher at Dresden, which appointment he declined. In 1830 he published a volume of sermons, and established a periodical paper called the Literary Advertiser, for Christian Theology and General Intelligence, a quarto sheet, eighty numbers a year. He is said to be the author of most of the articles in it, many of which are of great value, and several of which have appeared in the early volumes of the Bib. Repository. In 1833 he edited Calvin's Commentary on the New Testament in 6 Vols. 8vo. and published his Commentary on Christ's Sermon on the Mount; in 1836 a Comment on the influence of the Greek Philosophy upon the Theology of the Mohammedans and the Jews; in 1836, his Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews; in 1837 his Treatise on the Credibility of the Evangelical History; in 1834, 5, 6, and 7, four volumes of sermons. In addition to these labors, his contributions to the various periodicals in Germany have been many and valuable. The number and value of his literary productions will appear more surprising, when we consider the amount of his daily duties as professor of theology, and that he is among the foremost of German preachers in the eloquence and effectiveness of his addresses. The Sketch of Tholuck from which this brief notice has been derived, contains a very interesting and full account of his character as a commentator, a lecturer and a

preacher, with a review of some of his theological and philosophical opinions.

The next article is on the Doctrine of the Resurrection from the Dead, a Commentary on the 15th chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, by Dr. L. J. Rückert, whose essay on the Gift of Tongues we have already mentioned. This Commentary is in some features almost unique, and deserves an especial attention from the interpreters of the Scriptures among us, both for its singular and critically scientific method and the unflinching strictness with which the author adheres to his own canons. We call his method critically scientific not because it is perfect, or includes a guarded statement of every rule and principle which aid the interpreter in ascertaining the mind of his author, but rather negatively, because it excludes most of those which are sources of error. "Employ," he says to the exegete, "all the proper means in your power to ascertain the true sense of the writer; give him nothing of thine; take from him nothing that is his. Never inquire what he ought to say; never be afraid of what he does say. It is your business to learn, not to teach." This advice is excellent. The student of the Scriptures must ever hold it fast. But when these views, which all will assent to, are reduced to definite propositions and rules, or come to a practical application, there will always arise causes of difference and occasions of error. The theory of exegesis advanced by Rückert, though liable to exception, is in the best sense even of that term, the most soundly scientific that we have seen.

"In the first place," says Rückert, "a commentary should be *philological*. This implies an exact knowledge of the language and its idioms; an historical knowledge of all important matters relating to the condition of the people and of the age to which the writing belongs; logic, that is, a strict prosecution of the course of thought, not merely from verse to verse, but even through the entire argument of a section or division, with an accurate development of the proofs adduced by the author; and imagination, that is, a lively versatility, by means of which the interpreter divests himself of his individuality, and assumes the very position of his author. In the second place, a commentary must be *impartial*. The interpreter of the New Testament has no system and ought to have none, neither a doctrinal system, nor one where sentiment predominates. As an exegete, he is neither orthodox nor heterodox, neither a supernaturalist, rationalist nor pantheist; he is actuated neither by pious feelings nor by those of a contrary character; he is neither moral nor immoral; neither of tender sensibilities nor the reverse. His only business is



to investigate the meaning of what his author says, and to leave other things to philosophers, doctrinal writers and moralists. As an interpreter, his only interest is rightly to understand his author, and exhibit his thoughts to the reader without any foreign admixture. In the third place, a commentary should not be crowded with *matters not immediately connected with it.*" Rückert here refers to the intermingling of illustrations from authors belonging to other nations and times. This rule is frequently transgressed by quotations from the classics. "Fourthly, a commentary should be *methodical.* The sense of every passage should be so exhibited before the reader, that he shall see the right explanation gradually developing itself, and while, with perfect freedom his own thoughts are following the interpreter, he may obtain through him a correct exegesis."

Here we have the principles set forth, by which the true interpreter should guide himself. In the condition of mind required by them he must continually strive to place himself. The paraphrast may take another course, and the expositor and the preaching commentator; but the true interpreter is bound by stricter laws. The rules laid down may be easily misunderstood and perverted, yet we believe, as Rückert meant them to be understood, they are substantially true and vitally important. They require of the commentator a vast labor and severe discipline. He may not read at haphazard, nor judge by the measures of an ordinary attention. Perhaps the most difficult problem to be solved in framing a system of principles of interpretation, is to determine how far the actual moral state and opinions of the reader must, or may affect his views of the meaning of the sacred writer. Rückert maintains that it should be neutral. In point of scientific accuracy we believe him to be right, however difficult the attainment may be, and however seldom made. The feelings of the reader are to follow the mind of the Spirit, not to control it. The moral judgment of the apostle is to be adopted, not reduced. The difficulty of the analogous problem, is much less in regard to cases of pure reasoning, than that which pertains to arguments of a mixed nature, grounded partly on logical statements and partly on moral sentiments. There are many such cases in the writings of Paul, where the understanding does not at all, or hardly comprehend the propriety of an inference which the moral sentiment apprehends at once and embraces. Here there must be a sympathy with the spirit of the writer, yet as in the case of purely mental operations, it must be a sympathy of our spirit with his, not of his with ours. As we must stand on the



eminence from which he looks, that we may apprehend the force of his reasonings, so must our feelings flow in the same channel with his, that the same themes that move him may move us, and move us as they do him. Then the state of the interpreter's mind becomes neutral; not indifferent to truth, nor insensible to its beauty and power; but neutral in respect to the mind of his author, and neutral because coincident. The love of truth must be superior to that of system, and to that of what we here supposed to be truth. Wherever this love predominates and is in full exercise, the mind will naturally put itself in the posture of mere learning, and refuse to create. The result will be neutrality, and natural coincidence. This topic is one of great interest, but our limits forbid us to enter on the discussion of it.

The commentary of Rückert is a thorough and consistent application of his principles. His object is to develop the meaning of the apostle, as it lay in the apostle's mind, and as he has himself expressed it. He does not stop to instruct or exhort. He does not try to prop up the apostle's affirmations with arguments of his own invention. If there be convincing power in his reasoning, he is content that it shall do its work. If not, the reader must remain unconvinced, for him. He wastes no words in illustrations, makes no parade of learning. He seldom refers to other commentators, for he has to do with Paul and not with them. Or if he sometimes alludes to their errors, he falls into no elaborate discussion; one stroke cuts through. He pays no deference to opinions, but manfully trusts his own reason and the power of truth. Nor does he concern himself whether Paul's doctrine be true; he seeks only to know what it is, and how he proves it, and thereto weighs every argument, analyzes every proposition, examines its logical worth and bearing, and traces out the whole order and progress of the discussion. As a specimen of clear, searching and accurate analysis, as a mere work of art even it is worthy of most careful study. The students of the crammed commentaries of Scott and Henry will be astonished by a clearness and speed of thought to which they have been strangers, and may learn perhaps that the simple thoughts of Paul are richer than the wisest inferences of the best men.\*

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\* The following extracts from the notes upon Rückert may throw light upon the character of the author, and upon his principles of in-

We have already intimated that the doctrine of the resurrection has fallen into unwarrantable neglect. It is taught too much by implication, and not as the apostle taught it, as a cardinal truth, a ground point of the Christian system, worthy of distinct demonstration and itself the great evidence and condition of our immortality. Rückert's Commentary may do somewhat to remove the obscurity which has been thought to hang over this part of Scripture and this doctrine of revelation ; and thus set aside one of the reasons of its almost oblivion. It sustains generally the

terpretation. The first passage is from the preface to the Commentary on the first epistle to the Corinthians :

"In conclusion, it only remains for me to express the wish, that the portion of the public that have hitherto been favorable to me, may still remain so. The opponents, in part the authors themselves of commentaries on the epistles explained by me, who have made me feel pretty strongly their censorial importance—even to menaces—are still at liberty to exercise their office on my labors. So far as they are in the right, I will seek to profit by their remarks, whether made in a friendly or inhuman manner, so that my undertaking—the sound interpretation of the great apostle—may be advanced. What objections of a personal nature they may have to propound, I shall, as hitherto, pass by in silence." In the Preface to his Commentary on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, published in 1837, he says : "That which I have accomplished I commit to the unprejudiced examination of reasonable critics. Whatever opinions or even confutations of my positions I may see,—for these I shall be grateful. Some things may escape me in consequence of the location in which I find myself. When occasion offers, earlier or later, I shall seek to profit by these criticisms. On the first part—the Commentary on the first Epistle—no judgment has been expressed to my knowledge, except that the sale which it has found in the course of the first year, seems to show that the public are not unfriendly to it."

"Rückert, so far as we have been able to judge from the portions of his commentaries which we have read, is faithful to his principles. A striking characteristic, on every page, is the straight forward manner in which he advances to his object. He turns neither to the right hand nor to the left. His single object is to develop the ideas of his author. In doing this, he is perfectly ready to march against the frowning batteries and proudly cherished structures of his predecessors, or even to pass on to his object without the slightest notice of their labors. This honesty of aim, this directness of purpose, we cannot but admire. We have increased confidence in the invincibility of truth. We have more unwavering trust in those great doctrines which can endure this sharp-sighted critic, which come out unimpeached from the most severe cross-questioning."

conclusions which have been received by divines in this country, though in some points the author differs from them. These differences, however, ought not to affect materially our estimate of the value of the work. We have in them the convictions of an honest mind, which shrinks from no labor, and fears nothing so much as a forsaking or wavering statement of the truth.

The treatise of Lange, on the Resurrection of the Body, which is appended to that of Rückert, is a brilliant speculation. The views which it opens are interesting as matters of thought, and of practical, personal interest too, though in the regions of conjecture. The notions of nature and of life from which they are derived belong to a philosophy eminently attractive, but which has as yet gained few disciples among us.

Then follows a Life of Plato from Tennemann, a careful examination and statement of the principal events of his life. This piece will be thought valuable by our scholars, not only for the information it gives respecting Plato, but as an excellent specimen of the style in which a literary biography should be written. The testimonies of ancient writers are exactly compared and sifted, and the principles of historical criticism skillfully applied. Annexed to it is what may be called a sketch of "the literature of the subject," by Prof. Edwards. The translators encourage us to expect another volume, relating solely to Plato and Aristotle, and containing a full account of their lives and philosophical systems. This attempt is an earnest that it will be well done, and we cannot doubt it will be highly acceptable to the scholars of our country.

The last article is on the Sinless Character of Jesus, by Prof. Ullmann, of Heidelberg, and translated by Prof. Park. The subject is one of matchless interest. Its relations to dogmatic theology are of fundamental importance, and the bearings of it in this relation deserve a careful examination. But to our mind the moral interest of it, and its intimate connection with the christian life give it a higher attraction.

The doctrine of human culture, considered as a science, rests on the idea of the Perfect. But our apprehension, from the imperfectness of our faculties, is necessarily feeble, and by our depravity is made dim; and, as the discipline depends on the clear brightness of it, it were a sad lot for us who are born with a natural upward striving, if we must labor forever like blinded Polyphemus, feeling after what we cannot see, turning only mangled orbs to the great light. Yet such we should be in the



darkness of our own perceptions. We can discern a ray of light, yea many and glorious rays. We can recognize one and another virtue beautiful and excellent. But nature and our experience furnish only fragments, and nowhere is the power to reproduce the original image from which they were broken. History furnishes no example of a perfect man, nor yet has the mind of any formed a full conception of the grace and dignity of complete manhood. It were a kindness worthy of a God to send into our world one pattern of what man should be, to reanimate the hopes of the virtuous, with the assurance that they do not struggle in vain, and wake the slumbering elements of goodness in the hearts that are worldly. Without it our efforts were irregular and often ill-directed, for our views would have neither unity nor life. Such a blessing is vouchsafed us in the person of Jesus. When we contemplate the wonderful combination and balance of his character, his calm virtue, his spotless life, do we first begin to realize what man should be, and may be, and find ourselves drawn towards that living model, with a sweet and gentle persuasion that cannot be resisted. Then rises in our firmament a brighter star than of sages and heroes. There is virtue and healing in its light.

The influence of the perfect purity of Jesus on the development of Christianity in the soul of man has certainly been undervalued among us. We dwell not too much, but too exclusively, on the crowning grace, the love that died. Here, doubtless, is the origin and great fountain of our spiritual life, and hope; but what had been the nature of that death, without the obedience that went before? His perfect innocence magnifies the offering of Christ, not merely as a sacrifice to God, but as a free gift to man; but had even the sacrifice been made, and the redemption made sure, where had been our guidance, but for that pillar of light, the sinless purity of Jesus? We are not merely to be redeemed by his grace, we are to be of his spirit; and as by his death we are effectually born again, so by meditation on his life are we to build up our spiritual being, and become Christ-like and God-like. We know many on whom this great power seems to be lost, many too who are Christians, we may not doubt; yet their character would gain, we think, both consistency and completeness, by a sympathy with Jesus as a man, as it has strength from adoring him as God.

We do not trust ourselves to say all that we think of the value of this article. It is an ample and masterly discussion,



cautious yet ardent, of a subject which, as it sustains the best hopes, touches also the tenderest feelings of the heart. The entire title of the piece is "An Apologetic View of the Sinless Character of Jesus." Would that some mind of kindred sympathies and powers among us would complete the view, and apply this great fact to the doctrines of the Gospel, and show its power over the heart and life of man. In our day and country this discussion is of the highest moment. We need the example of Christ to correct our misinterpretation of his precepts. How many instances of modern fanaticism could have no existence in minds which had known his calm dignity and repose !

One word as to the manner in which the translations are executed. German writers are almost without exception difficult to translate. The language itself presents shades of thought, idiomatic forms of expression, and combinations which it is impossible to render exactly into good English. Its compounds are hardly translatable, except by a circumlocution which materially impairs the force of the sentence. Then the style of German writers is very diverse from what we should call good writing in English. They indulge in interminable sentences, worse than Milton's, twisted and complicated with innumerable parentheses, seeming dislocations. Many, moreover, use a philosophical language which has no adequate expression in our tongue. These and other difficulties, the translators have surmounted with great skill. The translation, while it retains the strength, liveliness and spirit of the original, is thoroughly and purely English. There are no traces of a mere doing into English, which has made translations from the German by scholars in England, heavy and unreadable. The style is easy and idiomatic, and might for the language well pass for original English composition. The notes which have been added by the translators, show great learning, and judgment, and taste, and contain discussions of great value. The same spirit of liberal scholarship which has guided in the selections, has given due proportion and pertinent criticism, and rich illustrations.

We have said that a work is sometimes as valuable for its form as for its thought. This is true not absolutely, but relatively, in respect to the reader. The form contains the writer's method ; and it may be that the culture of the reader shall be more aided by a perception of his method, than by a knowledge of his conclusions. This remark is applicable in some extent

to this work. We do not mean to undervalue the truths so ably set forth in it; yet cannot but believe, that a service of hardly less worth has been rendered to our community, by the specimens which it contains of thorough and exact analysis, and of scholarlike investigation.

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### ARTICLE XIII.

#### REVIEW OF BACON'S HISTORICAL DISCOURSES.

By Rev. Noah Porter, Jr. New Milford, Conn.

*Thirteen Historical Discourses on the completion of Two Hundred years from the beginning of the First Church in New Haven, with an Appendix. By Leonard Bacon, Pastor of the First Church. New Haven: Durrie & Peck. New York: Gould, Newman and Saxton, 1839. pp. 400.*

WE are always gratified to see a vindication of the character of the Puritans, and an illustration of their history, undertaken and executed by one of their true-hearted sons. We are pleased to know that one, who is animated with an honest reverence for their principles and aims, and possessed of much of their spirit, has stepped forth as the fair but fearless assertor of their well-grounded claims to the respect and the love of the passing generation, and endeavored to establish in the minds of their descendants a deep and lasting attachment to the honor of their ancestry.

We expect and have a right to demand, that such a man will conduct his inquiries with a reverence for truth, that is higher even than his love for the Puritans, and that he will fearlessly bring to the test of truth, the soundness of their distinctive principles, the wisdom of their measures, and the excusableness of their prejudices. For the men whom he would vindicate, if they gloried in anything, gloried in their attachment to truth, and made it ever their boast that they yielded an implicit deference to her authority, as she speaks in the voice of conscience and by the Word of God. That authority they counted as far more worthy of their homage than that of kings

and prelates, and with inward reverence to her majestic presence, they stood up before a majesty which they deemed far inferior, and their faces were not ashamed. He then, who in the spirit of the Puritans and upon their own principles would scan their history anew, and study their character, must be willing to refer both to the same tribunal and with fearlessness abide the issue of a repeated investigation. We ought not to be surprised, perhaps, if he who by early education, has been used to give half the reverence of his heart to Truth in her severe and simple dignity, and half to the throne of a monarch, begirt with its dazzling cincture of nobles in church and state, should conduct an investigation that is partial, even when he intends to be honest, and rest upon biassed conclusions when he least suspects his own fairness. Nor should we at all wonder, if he who has violently rent himself from his early attachment to the simple forms by which his father worshipped God, and which his mother taught him to love, should manifest an intemperate zeal in attacking the principles and the fame of his Puritan ancestry, and show a too forward eagerness as he pronounces the edifice to be unsound which they reared at so great a cost, and rallies around himself associates to assist in the work of its destruction. But in the professed inheritor of Puritan principles it would be treason to be otherwise than ready to stand or fall by the truth, and to cast himself upon her award, even when he is summoned to the delicate and difficult task of estimating on fair principles of judgment, the real worth of those whom he has been taught to honor.

It is not for him, however, after he has finished such an examination, to fear to declare with boldness his firmer attachment to their principles; nor is it for him to shun with a fervid spirit, to proclaim anew their private worth and public virtue. The descendant from the non-conformists of the seventeenth century, who has studied their claims to the regard of the present generation, should not be too timid to make them known. He of all other men should be the last to be led by literary associations, or the prevailing current of thinking among fashionable religionists, to present an apology when he ought to stand upon the high ground of triumphant vindication. He should be the last man to rest satisfied with palliating or excusing their peculiarities, when he ought to call up from the past, the voice of indignant rebuke against their degenerate sons.

The author of these discourses has fulfilled both of these requi-



sitions, in a manner which entitles him to the highest praise. His work is no superficial repetition of familiar facts. It is no glorious declamation upon the Puritan character as a theme of which the writer knoweth nothing accurately, but it presents to us a thorough, an accurate, and candid statement of their excellencies and their faults, uttered in no timid language, and often speaking with a voice of manly reproof.

The true spirit of history is affectionate and reverential. History ought to be impartial indeed, but she should never be heartless. Where she sees occasion to condemn, she should do so, in no doubtful phraseology, and with all needful severity; but the virtue which she finds reason to admire, she should always honor, and should record her honor, in language that is well tempered indeed, but which is warm and fervid still. No man can be an accomplished historian, in whose heart, reverence and admiration, are not prevailing impulses. These alone can animate for those protracted investigations, which otherwise might be wearisome. These alone can minister the patience, which under any other impulse, had given place to a careless and dishonest haste in collecting the needed facts, and in deriving from those facts, the conclusions to which they point. These give to faded and dusty records, a higher and a fresher interest, than partizan bigotry or scoffing unbelief can possibly impart. These cause a bright and beaming beauty to shine out from their repulsive pages. Every work to be done well, should be made a work of love, and there is no love that is purer or more inspiring, than that which a generous mind, yields to that worth which brightens and adorns the records of the past.

We do not need to be told by Mr. Bacon, that this work of his was written in such a spirit as this. We should have known from the volume itself, that there was some cause, which made him feel when he "was yet a boy, that the New England race is sprung of earth's best blood."

We regard it as a favorable circumstance also, that the author of this volume sympathizes with the religious spirit, and the religious principles of the fathers of New England. Many of their eulogists have extolled them too exclusively, as the vindicators of liberty in church and state, and as the founders of improved systems of civil and ecclesiastical polity, rather than as the strenuous defenders of "the faith once delivered to the saints." As far as they have proceeded in their work of



praise, they have done well. We doubt not that the admiration which they have professed, has been sincere, and the honor which they have tendered has been cordially given. But with the views which we cherish, of that truth, which the Puritans counted dearer than life, and of that serious and unmoved faith which is its appropriate fruit, we should count it an unmanly weakness, to conceal our decided preference of a vindication of their fame, in which that which was the very soul of their endurance and their toils is enforced as a matter of the same solemn obligation, as it was held by them.

We need not say, that the doctrines which the Puritans held as truths which "perish never," are made prominent in these discourses. However much zealots for the strictest constructions of the platforms and symbols, which the fathers framed, may argue to the contrary, no one who is familiar with the writings of Howe and Baxter, can doubt but that if theirs is Puritan theology, then Mr. Bacon has not greatly erred from the faith.

The publication of this volume is well-timed. It might seem to be otherwise, to a superficial observer of the times. To such an one it might appear, that the number of "Tributes to the memory of the Pilgrims" which have been already prepared, was even more than sufficient, and that there could be but little occasion for new incitements, to lead a grateful posterity to honor their fathers, and to cherish their distinctive principles. A country like ours he would say, cannot do otherwise, than remember to do honor to those men, who by their sacrifices and toils, laid the foundations of its prosperity so broadly and deeply, and who by their principles have given character to its institutions. But the fact ought not to be disguised, and we certainly do not wish to conceal it, that there exists a class of men among ourselves, who are ready to go as far as they dare, in detracting from the well-earned fame of the fathers of New England, and who are even prepared to intimate to us, that the praise which is bestowed upon them by their grateful sons, is too often excessive. To this unqualified admiration, they feel bound to apply the needed corrections; and so they attempt to show us that civil liberty does not owe to them so great a debt, as is sometimes represented, while the religious liberty for which they strove, was an emancipation from the healthful restraints of a church, which stood unrivalled for the soundness of its doctrines, and the grave and decent

beauty of its well-ordered ceremonies. They would produce the impression, upon the minds of reading men, that in that memorable strife which divided the English church from the days of Hooper till the revolution of 1688, the grievous wrong in the case was committed not by the church, but by her unnatural children, who with deluded and Puritanic zeal tore themselves from her embrace, for a yard or two of linen, or the trifling question, whether they should kneel or stand at the reception of the Eucharist. In this attempt, they can summon to their aid, the powerful influence of much of the current literature of England. Hume has so written, and Scott has so painted, as to persuade their readers, that the Puritanic party with some few exceptions, was made up of weak enthusiasts or hypocritical and sanctimonious knaves. Against these men, of so many of whom the world was not worthy, there have also arrayed themselves, the great majority of political journalists and occasional essayists, either because they belonged to the church of England, and therefore disliked the Puritans, or because they belonged to no church at all, and therefore despised them.

To withstand the efforts of the class to whom we allude, and to contend successfully against the literary and religious prejudices, which they can bring to their aid and which are so omnipotent with certain small literary folk, our course is simple. We have only to present a calm and candid statement of the facts in the case, or which is better, we may do as Mr. Bacon has done,—we may call up again the times of the Puritans, and leave the men of those days with their words and their deeds, to stand up for themselves, before the present generation, and make their own defence.

It is a feature of the present work, for which it cannot be too highly commended, that it presents to us in this way, its defence of the early settlers of New England.

Historic truth, rarely, if ever attained by the great mass even of the readers of history, is most likely to be reached by this method of proceeding on the part of professed historians. As history is ordinarily written, it is too often a laudatory declamation, setting forth the objects of its praise in high-sounding periods, and blackening the opposing party, by as unqualified a condemnation. As we pass from the perusal of the recorder for one party to the advocate of the other, we are embarrassed by our alternating confidence and distrust. Too often do we leave the question at issue entirely undecided, and perhaps

adopt the principle never afterwards to give credit, to any historian, whatsoever be his theme. It is true, the skilful student of the past can penetrate successfully through this over-lying mass of embarrassing materials and can bring up from beneath the whole, the simple truth. His practised eye can detect the stroke of the painter's pencil by which this beauty is heightened and that defect is concealed. He can distinguish between the extravagance of the desperate and determined adulator, and the warm-hearted fervor of the honest chronicler. Where testimony is contradictory, and strenuous and artful attempts are made, to illuminate that which is dark, and to darken the bright, he may satisfy himself, that he has indeed settled down upon the truth.

But it need not be said, that the great mass of reading men, even of men well-informed, are not practised students of historic records. They have neither the requisite interest in the points at issue, nor have they the opportunities, the time or the patience, which are required for an independent weighing of opposing evidence. However honest may be their intentions, and however sincere their desire, to know the simple truth, they are left almost entirely at the disposal of partizan historians and of partizan reviewers.

That historian who would gain a victory for truth by means which a noble mind need not scorn to employ, and a victory also, which will be an enduring triumph, should present to his readers the men of past days, as they were when they lived, and suffer them to vindicate their own fame, and achieve their own victories over all those men who are honest enough to love the truth.

To apply these principles to the case before us; we choose in our study of the history of the two parties in that great strife which shook all England, not to refer to Neal and Calamy on the one side, and compare them with Clarendon and Southey on the other;—but rather to open the writings of the men who figured at the head of the contending parties, we fearlessly place Hooker and Cartwright, the one against the other. We are content to set Milton and Baxter and Howe, over against Hall and Taylor and South, and to abide the issue. We would not ask to record from the testimony of any of these men, a single historic fact, but we would gather from the truths for which each contended and the spirit which breathes in their writings, our final estimate of the claims of either to our highest regard.



From themselves would we learn, which of the two had more of the truth in their understandings and more of its spirit in their hearts, and also which of the two parties, deserve most highly the esteem of the present generation.

We could wish that an investigation, like the one suggested could be pursued, in all its details, by some one competent to the work. He should be a man possessed of great fairness of mind, and of accuracy and completeness in his historic reading. We can only add a hint or two, as to the manner, in which the proper inquiries should be instituted; and the conclusions to which, in our judgment, they would lead the candid and thorough student.

Let it be forgotten that the one party, contended with sacred and venerated authorities, and strove against opinions, which till then had held an undisputed sway over the minds of all Christendom,—while the other had custom, antiquity and consecrated associations with themselves. Let it be forgotten that the one could easily be represented as fomenters of schism in the church and of sedition in the State, while the other presented to themselves and others, the fair appearance of being the friends of order and of the law. Let their relation to parties and questions now existing, be also kept out of mind. Let the esteem and veneration be forgotten, which the friends of the English Establishment have persisted in bestowing exclusively upon those who claimed at that period to be the only true supporters of the English church; and also the hatred and contempt, which as a matter of course, they teach their children to bestow upon Cromwell and the great Rebellion. Let the men who stood at the head of the two great parties be judged by their own merits, as they may be seen in their writings, the honest index of their aims and principles.

Let the characteristic merits and excellencies of each be compared, as they are here displayed, and let the claims of each to our highest favor be fairly adjusted. The best men on each side, possessed their characteristic and peculiar excellencies, and they were attached to their own views, for what they deemed to be sufficient reasons, and sound principles. These excellencies of character, these aims and principles—may and ought to be weighed in the balance, against each other. It can be decided, which be of higher worth, the steadfast uprightness with which the one sought for the simple truth, and planted themselves firmly upon whatever they deemed to be an enduring prin-



ciple or the steadfast aim of the other, to bring matters of doctrine and discipline only so near the truth as might "stand with godly and christian wisdom;"\*—which bespeaks the nobler mind, to believe that such wisdom was to be exemplified by yielding to the inflexible decree of the occupant of the throne, or to cherish the strong confidence, that truth, by her innate energy, and with aid from heaven, could if boldly supported, force her way in face of the arbitrary Henry, the splendid but despotic Elizabeth and the vain-glorious James. It can be decided who are most to be honored for this same "godly and christian wisdom," the men who against sight and hope committed their cause to Him who reigns in righteousness, and whose throne is girt about with truth, or they who deemed it the part of wise men to yield to the strong current of temporal authority and to give place for a time, to "spiritual wickedness in high places."

The wisdom of the Puritan leaders, in their practical judgments, of what they might yield, with a safe and even an enlightened conscience, is a point, in regard to which, their opponents find it easiest, to claim the preëminence for themselves. The impression is widely diffused, that they were certainly *deluded* men, even if we allow them to have been honest. With the homage of unfeigned admiration, have we read the address of the celebrated Hooker to the non-conformists of his day contained in the Preface to his work upon Ecclesiastical Polity. We have asked ourselves again and again (with quite as much honest reverence for Hooker's wisdom and worth, as those who feel bound in conscience to become Episcopalians because Hooker and Taylor were great men),—Can it be that the man who in these few pages, has given us such an amount of practical wisdom, condensed as it is in the most forcible maxims, could have erred in his judgment as to which course was that demanded by christian wisdom? We have easily answered the question of our own asking, by laying out of view, the high and

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\* The question is not (says Whitgift) whether many things mentioned in your Platform of Discipline were fitly used in the apostles' time, or may now be well used in sundry reformed churches, this is not denied; but whether, when there is a settled order in doctrine and government established by law, it may stand with godly and christian wisdom to attempt so great alteration as this Platform must needs bring in, with disobedience to the prince and laws, and unquietness of the church, and offence of many consciences.—*Neal, Am. Ed. I. 310.*

philosophic eloquence of the advocate, and looking at Hooker's argument. Side by side, with his powerful sophistry—we call it sophistry, as it is the application of the wisest maxims to false hypotheses—we have placed the brief and simple argument of some quaint Puritan divine and have felt that the latter though of a homelier, was yet of a *wiser* mind. Hooker is not the first nor the last instance of a man of scholastic habits and much abstract wisdom, who has yet been greatly in fault in his judgment of practical questions. “I must acknowledge,” says Coleridge, “with some hesitation, that I think Hooker has been a little over-credited for his judgment.”

We find it not at all difficult, to decide, who displayed the firmest heroism. They certainly will bear off the palm, whose sinews were as steel, and whose hearts were as iron in the contests with those, who though bold for the monarch whom they honored and the church they loved, yet because they relied on aid that was seen, could neither write nor battle as they did, who had no reliance but in their own good cause and an unseen God.

In loftiness of imagination, they stand surpassed by none, and in the highest flights of enthusiastic ardor, flights in which some indeed soared so high, as to break the very pinions on which they were borne upward. What though Butler has attempted to present to the world, the fervid workings of their ardent enthusiasm as the rank and fermenting mass of crazed and Quixotic fancies? What if Scott, though aiming to be more fair, has yet failed to be moved as a poet should have been, by the high ardor of their fervid spirit and the solemn fixedness of that faith which torture and death only provoked to a more steadfast sternness? We venture still to assert, that no class of men, deserve more to be admired for the noble ideality of their aims and the sublime enthusiasm of their disinterested souls, than the non-conforming divines and warriors of the seventeenth century. Their boldness and their ardor led them into excess, but into such excess as can be charged to great natures alone. Its fire is the very stuff, of which poetry is made, and impersonated as it was in the verse and the more poetic prose of Milton, it challenges a parallel to itself in the history of the world. What if our “amateur divines,” and fastidious critics, blush for their Puritan parentage and descent, because they did not dwell in the haunts of the Muses, and sip at the shallow springs which flow from the fountains of Helicon? We tell them, what they

ought to have felt for themselves, that the Puritans did not write, because they *acted* poems. Shame on the men, who are not “strongly attracted by the moral purity and greatness, and that sanctity of civil and religious duty, with which the tyranny of Charles the First was struggled against.”

“Nor shall the eternal roll of praise reject  
Those unconforming ; whom one rigorous day  
Drives from their Cures, a voluntary prey  
To poverty and grief, and disrespect,  
And some to want—as if by tempest wrecked  
On a wild coast ; how destitute ! did they  
Feel not that Conscience never can betray,  
That peace of mind is virtue’s sure effect ?  
Their altars they forego, their homes ; they quit  
Fields which they love, and paths they daily trod,  
And cast the future upon Providence ;  
As men the dictate of whose inward sense  
Outweighs the world ; whom self-deceiving wit  
Lures not from what they deem the cause of God.”

We wish also that with respect to the faults of the two parties, a comparison might be instituted, and that the question might be decided whether the party opposed to the Puritans were not as deeply tinctured with those very faults, which are charged to the Puritans alone, and for which they are so generally cast out to reproach. Were they excessively scrupulous ? Did they attach an undue importance to matters of trivial consequence ? Doubtless they did. But let it be remembered, that the times were times of excessive scrupulosity, and that the two opposing parties in politics and religion ought alike to receive this charge from those men of the present day, who seem to understand the motives and conduct of neither. They were scrupulous for the same reason that the courtier is so nice in matters of etiquette, and the duellist, so precise in applying the law of honor, because they deemed it of importance, to uphold or withstand great principles even in things which otherwise had been but trifles indeed. The Puritans are laughed at for their scruples about the square cap and the surplice. It is forgotten, that they did not regard the cap and the surplice as in themselves of consequence, but in the times in which they lived, and knowing well the influence of such things over the people, they refused them, as relics of popery ; and it is for no man to condemn them, who cannot go back into those times, and



understand whether they were trifles *then* or not. When conformity was pressed upon them, on their allegiance to their sovereign and the rulers of the church, they resisted upon *another principle*, which concerned no less a matter, than the freedom which should be claimed by a man and a Christian. They scrupled about "the habits" as Hampden did about the ship-money, and upon the same principles which roused the spirit of our fathers against the stamp act. Let it be allowed, that they were too scrupulous in withholding conformity in regard to trifles. Elizabeth and Whitgift were equally so in enforcing conformity in matters so trivial, with this difference, that if the queen with the arch-bishop, led the way by making such terrible demonstrations of her over nice fancy, it was hardly to be expected but that her subjects should be strenuous even in small matters, to assert to themselves the liberty, wherewith Christ had made them free.

But the Puritans were certainly more narrow-minded than the defenders of the church. So far from this,—as these men appear to us in their writings, they were possessed of a larger liberality in their views, and a loftier elevation in their sentiments, than were their opponents. Both, it is true, erred in a too narrow and forced interpretation of the Scriptures, especially in relation to the points at issue in their controversy. The Puritans may in this respect have erred more frequently and more fantastically than the writers of the other party. But we count it the error of the nobler sort, to interpret the prophets and the apostles a little too strictly, than first to exalt the fathers to an authority almost divine, and then to subject them to a constrained interpretation. An inherent vitiosity in the principles of the defenders of the church, and a tame cringing to usurped authority, under the fair aspect of the reverence and honor due to God's vicegerents, could not but be seen in the contracting influence, which it exerted over the noblest minds. No dignity or beauty of style, no general elevation of philosophic eloquence, can secure even the noblest men who defended the church against the non-conformists, from the charge of being essentially narrow in their principles, and illiberal in their feelings towards those who differed from them. This gives a dark shade to the otherwise luminous pages of the noble Hooker. This gives to the wonderful Taylor the appearance of doting superstition, in what he says of the fathers and the church, which the golden tissue of his lengthened periods, and the sweet mu-



sic of his heavenly aspirations can never wipe away. Who can contrast the fervent affection and the deep reverence, with which some of the non-conformist writers speak of their dear mother the church of England, and the general respect with which her character and fame is treated by them all, with the excommunicatory fury with which the gentle Taylor always speaks of the non-conformists, and the biting sarcasm, with which they are transfixed by the witty South and not decide at once, who possessed the nobler and more liberal souls?

We venture to add, that we are sorry to see too much of the same spirit, which narrowed the minds of the fathers in the church of England, still prevalent in the minds of so many of the sons, even at the present day. There is still with them, on both sides of the water, an important assumption and a constrained reserve, in their language and air towards their sister churches, which did it seem a little more like the hearty attachment of minds constrained by a sincere love of the simple truth, and a little less like a voluntary make-believe, sustained by the necessary internal effort, would commend itself more to our respect than it now does.

We are not careful to assert the claims of the Puritans to the highest literary merit. As we have already intimated, they had a higher calling than that of merely literary cultivation. They furnished the materials for literature in their own fervid souls and in the stern conflicts which they sustained. They could not stay to mould and make them permanent, by polished care, and elaborate workmanship. And yet to their claims to literary merit, till but recently, the greatest injustice has been done, by the body of English critics. We admit that a greater number of writers of an inferior grade, belonging to the Puritan party, have survived till the present time, than can be named upon the other side. Writers of every grade were probably ten or a hundred fold more numerous from among the Puritans than from among their opponents in the excitements of the passing contests. Many of them are homely and fantastical enough, in point of language and of thought, and so doubtless with a few splendid exceptions were the mass of the devotional and controversial writers upon the opposite side.

There are also splendid names in literature from among the Puritans. There is Milton, and Vane, and Andrew Marvel, and Baxter, and Bates, and Bunyan, and Howe. There may be those who profess to be critical in matters of this nature, who

are so entranced with the substantial strength of the judicious Hooker, that they can find no merit in the surpassing sublimity of the noble Howe. There may be others who while they delight in the brilliant acuteness of the witty South, have no high meed of praise to render to the fiery directness, and the unrivalled simplicity of one Richard Baxter, or who wander with delight through the endless mazes of Taylor's accumulated richness, but who have neither eye nor ear nor soul, to be moved by the surprising imagery of Bunyan. There may be such critics. We wish them sounder principles and a more catholic taste.

We are well aware, that certain of our readers will receive with some surprise, the assertion of claims like these, on behalf of the Puritans, as the result of a candid investigation. Surely they will say, we have only to apply them to John Davenport, that man of crude fancies, and to his most favorite colony, so fantastically founded and reared with such a burlesque solemnity. Such a test will put them to shame, and turn them into a downright farce. We shall see.

Who then was John Davenport? We hardly need open the records of his history, or peruse a line of his writings to answer the question. We have only to gaze with attention, upon the features of his countenance, as they gleam through the veil which time has cast across his old portrait in the gallery at Yale College, or as they may be read in the engraving which adorns the volume before us.

John Davenport as we read in that face of his, was a bold and eager enthusiast, in whose character simplicity of faith and ardor in action were strongly developed. As we learn from his writings and his history, he was an enthusiast of the noblest order, an enthusiast in regard to the great principles of government and religion. Such an one was Sir Thomas More, such was Lord Bacon, such was Harrington. The Utopia, the New Atlantis, and the Oceana are all evidences of the same aiming at ideal perfection, which was a predominant trait in the character of Davenport. There was this difference, they projected, their views in theory. He must carry his into actual realization. These philosophers attempted to present the ideal of a perfect state. Davenport attempted in fact to found both church and state, according to the idea of each, and to unite the two into one harmonious and well ordered commonwealth.

True John Davenport never was Lord High Chancellor of England, nor did he ever sit at the Board of his majesty's Privy

Council. His scheme of a perfect government was not framed "in the quiet and still air of delightful studies," nor amid the elevating associations, that cluster so thickly in the halls of an ancient university. It was framed amid scenes of the severest trial; and with the assured certainty, that to propound it as founded upon the word of God, and sanctioned by divine authority, would expose him to threatening danger. It was matured, amid the perils of an unquiet life. Its foundations were laid and its pillars reared by a band of humble exiles, in a lowly senate house. But what of all this. This should not certainly detract from our estimation of the philosophic wisdom of the scheme, and of the practical sagacity and the noble confidence of its enthusiastic founder. Let no man sneer at the transactions in Mr. Newman's barn because they were characterized by a little too much prayer and praise, and because the serious care and the grave thoughtfulness of the founders of that little colony, seem to him to be hardly in keeping with an enterprise so humble. The fault may be with himself, that he has no right estimate at all of the serious care with which the principles of every institution should be considered, and perhaps, it may never have entered into his mind, that there are principles at all in politics and religion.

But enough of this. We are content to leave to Mr. Bacon the vindication of Davenport and his associates. This has he done most triumphantly in his review of the proceedings which gave being to the civil state. We should be glad to quote the whole of his remarks, but our limits forbid. We can only refer our readers to the second of these discourses, and particularly to that portion of it which is included from p. 24 to 33. These pages are admirable for their singular sagacity, and their intrepid boldness. No one who was not born with a genius for historic investigation could have written them at all; and but few if any of our best historians could have written better.

We hardly know, whether in these days of rebukes, it will be safe for a New England man, to say a word in order to explain or vindicate the principles of Congregationalism, or whether such an attempt will gain even a hearing, with those, who know nothing of Congregationalism, except that it is the parent of New Divinity and divers other monstrous and prodigious things. But the history of Davenport and of his colony, together with sundry remarks of Mr. Bacon, have brought vividly to mind the times when Congregationalism arose, and the cir-



cumstances which gave it being. In the principles and temper of its founders we discern the germs of those great features, which remain its characteristic features to the present day, and in which it differs from every other system of discipline, even the one, most nearly allied to itself, and with the members of which it has been united in the friendliest intercourse. To this day, the Congregational churches of New England, whether in city or country ;—whether exposed to continued and vexing assaults from the strenuous spirit of proselytism of other denominations, or maintaining, here and there, their ancient hold of the affections and respect of an entire community ; are still true to certain great maxims of church polity and of christian liberality, which, without being indebted to the sovereign efficacy of unchanging and unchangeable symbols, have yet been far more effectually kept alive, in the spirits and habits of living men. The fact, that they still retain those features, which their founders gave them, is the cheering fulfilment of the prayerful and prophetic wish so fondly cherished by those founders, that their care in “ foundation work,” might be felt through centuries which were to follow.

Before the Reformation of Luther, the church, by advances easily to be traced, had grown up into a powerful and regularly constituted polity. It was furnished with its officers, innumerable ;—officers superior and officers inferior, the circuit of whose authority was greater or smaller. Its parts were held together most firmly by the term of ecclesiastical authority, and the awful horror of final excommunication. The church was a vast commonwealth by itself, emphatically imperium in imperio, to whose independent existence and spiritual dignity it was deemed necessary, that immunities should be secured, and encroachments provided against. As every species of influence gradually accumulated within its hands, and a dreadful corruption of manners was eating at its breast, there arose in its midst, that high place for the Bishop of Rome, on which the man of sin ascended to uphold a mysterious domain of iniquity, before whom, to use the language of another “ the firm earth trembled wherever he strode, and the grass turned black beneath his feet.”

The Reformation applied one remedy to these evils. It wrested from the Pope that double usurpation, which he had claimed, over the visible and invisible kingdom of God. From his girdle it plucked those awful keys, by which he claimed to open and shut the doors of Christ's house on earth, with which



there moved in a mysterious harmony, the gates of Paradise, as they opened to admit the happy soul to the joys of Heaven, or smote forever backward, the man on whom God's vicegerent had set the mark of his anger.

In this most important respect, it changed the entire frame of church polity. In most other respects it left it unchanged. The old idea of the church as consisting of its officers rather than its members, was still retained. Whether presbyters as equal in authority were considered as the highest of its functionaries, or bishops were exalted over their fellows; the church was still regarded as in nothing different from the body of its officers, confederated according to their several powers. These officers derived their authority from God, at the hands of one another—and not from God, at the hands of the body, whose organs they were. These officers alone could perpetuate the church, by a transmission of their official character. They could not, except in circumstances of the extremest necessity, originate from the christian society itself. A few might allow that in certain cases, which might be supposed, they might derive their being from the society whose organs they were, but none entertained the idea, that such a local society had the resources of an independent life within itself, on which it might fall back without the grievous sin of rending the body of Christ.

When in opposition to these views of the church, which till then were the only views, the distinctive principle of Congregationalism was asserted, it excited contempt, wonder, and suspicion. It is amusing to notice the remarks of the writers of the day upon this new prodigy. The account of them which Fuller has recorded, is a striking comment on the strangeness of their opinions. The honest and witty historian, while he aims to give an impartial record of their origin and history, and seeks to do them justice in every particular, cannot conceal the honest stare of wonder, which gathers upon his half comical, half serious face; nor can he refrain from a few sly strokes of his wit at their amazing simplicity: "Thus the church, formerly like a chain, with links of dependence on one another, should hereafter become like a heap of rings each entire in itself." "Their adversaries object," he adds a little further on, "that none can give an exact account of all their opinions, daily capable of alteration and increase. While such countries, whose immovable mountains and stable valleys keep a fixed position, may be easily surveyed; no geographer can accurately describe some

parts of Arabia, where the flitting sands, driven with the winds, have their frequent removals; so that the traveller findeth a *hole* at his return, where he left a *hill* at his departure. Such is the uncertainty of these Congregationalists in their judgments, only they plead for themselves, it is not the wind of every doctrine, but the sun of the truth, which with its new lights, makes them renounce the old and embrace new resolutions."

Baxter also, though he aims to say nothing but in the most candid spirit,\* and though in his statement of their opinions he yields every principle for which they contend, does nevertheless show most plainly that he was suspicious of their principles, and disliked their bold assertion of them.

The origin of Congregationalism may easily be traced, and its history can be comprised in a few words.

About the year 1583, Robert Brown began to broach those opinions, by which his followers were afterwards known. "He was of a worshipful family nearly allied to the Lord Treasurer Cecil. He denied the church of England to be a true church, and her ministers to be rightly ordained;" in which respect, as in others, the Congregational brethren entirely dissented from him. The ministers and deacons according to his discipline, were chosen by the brethren, set apart by the brethren also by the laying on of hands, with fasting and prayer, and what is more worthy of notice, they held their office only at the pleasure of those who conferred it.

Driven from their native land, by a fierce persecution, numbers of the Brownists fled to Holland and among them John Robinson, who erected a congregation upon their model at Leyden. "He set out upon the most rigid principles" of the Brownists, "but by conversing with Dr. Ames and other learned men, he became more moderate," and though he insisted on the necessity of separating from the reformed churches, he allowed them to be *true churches* of our Lord Jesus Christ. He "pitched on a middle way between presbytery, as too

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\* We wish that more frequent use were made of Baxter's life of himself, in matters concerned in the history of those times. Coleridge says of this book, and no man was a more thorough student of English history than he, "Pray read with great attention Baxter's life of himself. It is an inestimable work. I may not unfrequently doubt Baxter's memory, or even his competence, in consequence of his particular modes of thinking; but I could almost as soon doubt the gospel verity as his veracity."

rigorous, imperious and conclusive, and Brownism, as too vague, loose and uncertain." His "main platform was, that churches should not be subordinate, parochial to provincial, provincial to national, but co-ordinate, without superiority, except seniority of sisters, containing no powerful influence therein."

In the year 1616, Mr. Jacob, the associate and friend of Robinson, with others, "laid the foundations of the first Congregational church in England. Standing together they joined hands, and solemnly covenanted with each other in the presence of Almighty God, to walk together in all God's ways and ordinances, according as he had already revealed, or should further make them known to them."

In 1620, a portion of the congregation at Leyden removed to New England, moved by "a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancement of the kingdom of Christ."

Soon there flocked to this new and blessed land bands of emigrating pilgrims. Numbers who thus came over had already separated from the church of England,—numbers had never withdrawn themselves from her embrace. Though followed with pains and penalties for their non-conformity to some of its prescriptions, they had never been clear in their consciences that it was right to erect themselves into a separate communion. But all united themselves upon the discipline here established, and their descendants rest beneath the shade of the vines which were thus planted, and eat of their healthful and refreshing fruit.

No one in the least degree familiar with the men and history of those times, can be surprised that the Congregational views of church discipline were *then* adopted. To us it is not a matter of wonder that they were advanced at no earlier period after the Reformation, nor that they found so great favor at the time when they were brought into notice, in the Providence of God, as a natural result of the progress of correct opinion.

We cannot wonder, that in an age of fermenting thought, of bold investigation and of fearless experiment, there should have been a man like Robert Brown, who with an impatient ardor, should have seized upon certain important principles, which till then had been unknown, and should have carried them to a wild and fanatical extreme. Nor can we wonder, that more reflecting men in the communion of his followers, were by the



evil working of a system that embodied but half the truth, and that distorted, induced to resort to the Scriptures, with a more careful study and by its light to separate truth from falsehood.

*Least of all* do we wonder, that the opinions of the wise and tolerant Robinson should have gained so rapid favor, in the eyes of those who in their sad experience, were beginning to find that the hierarchy of the Classis might exercise a tyranny as grievous and as irresponsible as that of the Prelacy. No one can read the history of the Westminster Assembly and not see that there was reason in the provident carefulness and the suspicious dread, with which the dissenting brethren kept themselves free from a "synodical power:" and that there might have been the most abundant occasion for Milton to complain, in the excess of his indignation, that "*New Presbyter* is but *Old Priest* writ large." Nor can one meditate upon the practical workings of this same synodical power, as exhibited in the history of the Presbyterian church of Scotland and America, without being deeply convinced that it is an usurpation over the freedom of God's heritage, which may convert the sacred wand of discipline "into an iron rod with which to dash out the brains of God's faithful ministers."\*

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\* It must be admitted that a "synodical power" has been attempted to be exercised, in some of the judicatories of the presbyterian church, which would fully justify this remark, were it not demonstrable that this exercise of power, at least in the manner of it, is wholly unauthorized both by the spirit and letter of American Presbyterianism. The power conferred upon the judicatories by the system itself, rightly understood, is not "usurpation." It is a power conferred, by the consent of the governed, for the purposes of salutary discipline, and it is wrong to argue from the mal-administration of a government in particular instances, against the system of the government itself, unless it can be shown that the system is one which encourages usurpation. We object also to this confounding of the Presbyterian church in this country with that of Scotland, as if the system and sanctions of the government of both were the same. The reverse of this is true. In the Scotch church all the power of government originates in its General Assembly, and is enforced by the arm of the civil law. But in the Presbyterian church in this country all power emanates from the people, or the brotherhood, as much as it does in the Congregational church, and is carefully distributed among the successive judicatories, with constitutional checks and guards against its abuse. The assumption and the exercise of power not thus conferred is a departure from the fundamental principles of



With the Scriptures in our hands, we adopt the conclusion of Baxter himself, far enough from being an independent: "In the search of Scripture and antiquity, I found, that in the beginning, a governed church and a stated worshipping church, were all one and not two several things; and that, though there might be other by-meetings in places like our chapels or private houses, for such as age or persecution hindered to come to the more solemn meetings, yet churches then were no bigger in respect to number than our parishes now. These were societies of Christians united for personal communion, and not only for communion by meetings of officers and delegates in synods, as many churches in association be. I saw if once we go beyond the bounds of personal communion as the end of particular churches, in the definition, we may make a church of a nation, or of ten nations, or what we please, which shall have none of the nature and ends of the primitive particular churches. I found that some Episcopal men, as bishop Usher himself, did hold that every bishop was independent, as to synods, and that synods were no proper governors of the particular bishops, but only for their concord."

The question is often asked, "What is Congregationalism?" We reply, Congregationalism as a system of church discipline is possessed of three distinctive features. These are, I. It maintains the independence of the local church; or its sufficiency within itself to perform all the functions of a christian society. II. It enforces the duty of communion with sister churches, in the way of intercourse, advice and admonition. III. It insists also upon the duty of holding communion with other churches "though they walk not in all things according to the same rule of church order."

The most marked of their features is the first. A church is a "congregation of faithful men," which when organized with its proper officers, is complete within itself and adequate to the performance of every ecclesiastical function.

Originally, each church had within itself its own body of elders, the *πρεσβυτεριον* of the New Testament. This consisted of the pastor and teacher, together with the ruling elder, or elders. This Presbytery exercised concurrent jurisdiction with

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American Presbyterianism, and can never be permanently sanctioned in this country. See 'Presbyterian Controversy,' Am. Bib. Repos. April 1839, p. 474, etc.—[Ed.]

the brotherhood in all matters of church discipline, and held a negative upon their acts and decisions.

They also ordained the pastor and the other officers of the church. This laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, was the act of the church through their officers, by which they set apart an individual as their pastor and received him as their shepherd and guide. In this way was Mr. Davenport ordained, [i. e. installed,] and such was the universal custom originally, in the Congregational churches, in Old and New England. "Nevertheless," says the Cambridge Platform, "in such churches, where there are no elders, and the church so desire, we see not why imposition of hands may not be performed by the elders of other churches."

It need not be said that in these respects, Congregationalism has changed from what it was originally. The governing authority of the local Presbytery as vested in the pastor and ruling elder, has entirely ceased, while the ordaining power is now exercised by the teaching elders alone, or by them with the messengers of the churches in council or consociation.

The second feature of Congregationalism, is its maintenance of the sacred duty of mutual communion between sister churches. This duty was insisted upon most strenuously by the early Congregationalists, as a sacred obligation, and as vital to the well-being of the church at large. And yet, though we can open none of their writers, who does not inculcate it with the utmost strenuousness, as being no less binding, and no less important, than the maintenance of the political independence of the local church, it seems to be assumed by those of every other name, that the Independents as they are termed, maintain no church relation, with their sister societies. The author of *Spiritual Despotism*, has done them the greatest injustice in regard to this point, and has made it most manifest, that with all his reading of the fathers, he has overlooked the fathers of Congregationalism.

This duty of mutual communion has been faithfully regarded by the churches in New England. No churches on the face of the wide earth, it is believed, know each other more fully, trust each other more entirely, or love each other more heartily than these same churches have done from their first planting. Their enemies, and the deserters from their ranks, from the first to the last, have predicted their speedy dissolution, from the looseness of their form, and have prophesied appalling consequences, from

their destitution of some book of standards, and yet they are united and promise to continue to be so. Confidence in each other is the strong bond of their fellowship, and forasmuch as they can exercise over each other no authority, having no evil to suspect at the hands of each other, this confidence is not easily impaired and is slowly withdrawn. In a word, they do not suffer under an excess of government, and therefore do not strive or fall out by the way.

They do, however, maintain the closest fellowship, in all matters that pertain to the christian life and doctrine. They consult each other on occasions of interest or perplexity. They extend admonition to the erring, and withdraw their fellowship from the church that is disorderly and obstinately heretical.

To this communion they hold fast, not to promote their convenience, or to fulfil the law of courtesy, but because to do so, is one of their distinctive principles, and enters into the essence of their form of discipline. Its warrant they find in Scriptural example, and they obey that example, from a conscience towards God. It cannot be too distinctly asserted or too often repeated, that this is as truly a feature of their system, as is that of the independence of the individual church.

The usages by which this communion is upheld in New England, are in a slight degree diverse from each other. The elders are connected by associations, and most of these are represented in some higher body, for advice and conference, but clothed with no binding authority. The churches meet each other in occasional or stated councils. Stated councils or associations are almost peculiar to Connecticut. These bodies, when advisory merely, are not in contradiction to the principles of the fathers. As they meet together, from time to time, to ordain and install the pastors within defined limits, and to keep alive christian fellowship, they serve as a strong bond of union, and impart as great stability and confederate strength to the churches, as it is desirable they should derive from one another. Where they are a standing body of appeal, with the power of giving a final issue, to all questions, and with authority to hear and judge on every case, whether the church will or no, they are anti-congregational, if Hooker and Owen and Goodwin are to be trusted as authorities. We quote a part of the title of Chap. 7, Book III. of Goodwin's great work upon church government: "Whether a particular congregation having complete power in itself, may oblige itself, in a constant way,



to ask advice or. direction from a consistory of Presbyteries. Resolved in the *negative*."

We give also the sentiments of Owen on the church, as quoted by a late reviewer of that work.\* "Hence it is evident, that in and after such synods, it is in the power of churches concerned, humbly to consider and weigh, 1. The evidences of the presence of Christ in them from the manner, causes, and ends of their assembling, and from their deportment therein. 2. What regard in their constitutions and determinations there hath been unto the word of God, and whether in all things it hath its due pre-eminence. 3. How all their determinations have been educed from its truth, and are confirmed by its authority."

The third feature of Congregationalism is, the freedom of its intercourse with churches of different names from its own. This is a feature most honorable to its founders, and for which it may be said to stand alone.† "We have always" say they, "maintained this principle, that among all christian states and churches, there ought to be a forbearance, and mutual indulgence to Christians of all persuasions, that keep to, and hold fast the necessary foundations of faith and holiness." So also in the preface to the Cambridge Platform, addressed to their jealous brethren of the Presbyterian persuasion in England: "It will then doubtless be far from us, so to attest the discipline of Christ, as to detest the disciples of Christ; so to contend for the seamless coat of Christ, as to crucify the living members of Christ; so to divide ourselves about church communion, as through breaches to open a wide gap for a deluge of anti-christian and profane malignity to swallow both church and civil state."

Congregationalism has always been anti-sectarian. At the outset it took a step far beyond the prevailing sentiment of the times. While it maintained the sanction of the Scriptures to

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\* See Literary and Theological Review.

† We think it cannot properly be said that, in the exhibition of this feature, Congregationalism "*stands alone*." The spirit and the provisions of American Presbyterianism are equally catholic. It is the glory of both of these denominations, if we judge of them by their platforms and standards, and by their prevalent usages, that they unchurch none of their brethren of other denominations, on account of their forms of worship and administration, nor on account of their differences of doctrinal views, so long as they hold the Head, and maintain a credible profession of the christian faith.—[ED].



its own form of government, and stood ready to defend it by the word of God and considerations of its fitness and expediency, it still acknowledged that other churches, might have that which constituted them true churches, even though they added to the simplicity of the divine pattern.

At this day also, when large portions of other christian denominations are becoming more decidedly sectarian, and tending to higher views touching their own peculiarities; when the Baptist must amend his Bible, and the Episcopalian contrives to lead some of his most as well as least valued ministers, to assume a more reserved attitude and a loftier state, when Methodism is waxing proud in the conscious strength of the vast expansion of its multitudinous aristocracy, when a General Assembly, claiming to be that of the Presbyterian church, is clothed with as complete legislative, judicial and executive authority as Julius Caesar or Napoleon would ask for, and defends the whole *jure divino*; Congregationalism is uttering before them all, a quiet but powerful reproof. And this example she has steadfastly maintained for more than two centuries.

We are not greatly concerned to vindicate Congregationalism from the loose talk, and the vague charges of its bigotted adversaries. There are some however who may honestly suspect its freedom; and fear that what seems to them the "looseness of its form" will open the way to heresy and fanaticism. To such we say, that bookish men, even though they are philosophers, are yet liable to certain peculiar prejudices, and it is not to be wondered at, that such should have little faith in any securities for the successful working of a church, whose creeds and forms are not *printed in a book*. Perhaps this class of men will not like the company in which we place them, yet we see not why as to this matter, they rank not with the *Utilitarian Codifiers* of the day, who cannot trust the unwritten common law of England.

The common law is the representative of the spirit of a just and high-minded people, and as long as that spirit shall animate its courts of justice, so long may it be relied upon as the most perfect security, to the rights of individuals. Congregationalism is upheld by the spirit of an intellectual, tolerant and christian population, and as long as this continues as the foundation of its strength and efficiency, so long, will it be a safe and an efficient form of church government. When these bands of strength are present, so long with all its apparent weakness,

will it work better than any other system, when these are absent it will work *no more badly*. When this spirit of intellect, of toleration and of faith are gone, or are greatly deficient, in vain are the host of orthodox creeds, in vain the most nicely balanced and accurately written forms of discipline. All is weakness. When these are present, extended creeds and unchangeable forms give less assistance, than they occasion inconvenience. The orthodox understanding, and the well-ordered heart need them not, but the gospel is still transmitted in purity and the churches have rest and are edified. An enlightened and fervent church, give to their ministry all the deference which they ought to ask, and watch over the purity of Christ's household, as those into whose care, has been committed this sacred trust. They hold fast to the form of sound words, as rigidly as it is desirable they should and preserve the usages which have been consecrated by time, as long as they are decent and becoming, but they keep themselves from a superstition and idolatrous veneration of either.

The two leading maxims of this system, in which are condensed its characteristic spirit, are the following. That we frame every present judgment by the word of God. That we be ready to receive whatever new truth shall be made known to us from the same word. "I charge you," said the pure-minded Robinson to his emigrating church, "before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you, by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am fully persuaded, the Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the Reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of the reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw; whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, *who yet saw not all things*."

This last peculiarity, has made the Congregational churches the friends of an independent Biblical study, and a free and fearless investigation of theological science. Of the results of such inquiries, they have had no reason to be afraid, for they

have never incased themselves in a set of opinions, from which they have counted it heresy in the least to swerve. Hence are their churches, the friends of all that is new, if it be approved to their consciences, and of all that is old, until the new is shown to be better. They combine the two elements of perseverance and progression, and they go on easily, while they are united upon essential truth and tolerate unessential differences.

But their grand peculiarity is, that they do not suffer from an excess of government. In churches, in which there are higher and lower courts, ascending in due gradation and confederated into one vast frame-work of polity, discipline on the one hand is seen to nod and slumber as she does in the Episcopal chair, or else to agitate the whole church which she essays to purify as in the Presbyterian body. Hardly a question can be raised in a local church, under the care of the General Assembly as now constituted, which cannot be made to shake and agitate the vast confederacy and array against each other in hot and often bitter strife, the ministers and elders from one end of the land to the other. That which under the Congregational system, could not be kindled into a flame, can be made to scorch and devour as far as Presbyterian rule is felt. At most, only a few neighboring churches are agitated by a conflict, which under other circumstances, might not only shake a numerous denomination, but expose it to the scoffs and jeers of a profane world.

And still, so little sectarianism do we cherish in New England, that there is very little anxiety felt or effort made that Congregationalism with these important advantages, should be extended beyond our own borders. It would indeed be pleasant to see an arrangement made in the household of our elder sister, by which if she must needs retain her courts of appeal, the highest should be what is now the lowest, but further than this, under present circumstances, she does not greatly desire a change.

Least of all is it desired, that a crude theology, an intemperate and mistaken zeal, should seek to make their advances under the fair name of Congregationalism, and that where the New England spirit, with its grave and searching wisdom, is not cherished, her name should be dishonored, because her form and discipline yields not the natural fruits of its chosen and native land. For Congregationalism of this sort we have as little sympathy, as we feel for Presbyterianism of the highest tone, and for the Episcopacy of the Oxford divines.



We cannot dismiss the volume before us, without again expressing the keen interest with which we have perused its pages, and the high obligations which we owe to the author for this most important contribution to the ecclesiastical history of New England. Though it professes to record the history of a single church only, it includes a history of the moral character, the ecclesiastical controversies, and the theological opinions, which have distinguished successive generations, since the planting of the New Haven colony. These are discussed in the characteristic manner of the author, and in a style which cannot fail to interest any reader, whose attention or favorable opinion it is worth the while of any one to regard. Few books are written so well as this. We have graphic delineation of character and of manners, grave and thorough discussion of principles, and oftentimes a fervid eloquence, all of which are clothed in pure and accurate English. A vigorous pulse beats in every sentence, which will keep the reader awake, without wearying or disgusting him, through affectation or straining for continued effect.

A history of New England theology is still a desideratum. An accurate statement of the opinions in theology that have marked the successive periods of its history, and of the transitions from one set of views to another, with a just and adequate view of their effect upon the preaching of the day and their remoter influence on the prosperity of religion, is greatly needed, and would be received with eager thankfulness by hundreds of readers. It might also contribute to the peace of the ministers of New England, by showing them that the suspicions and questionings of the present day, are not a new thing among the pastors of these churches,—that present differences are not wider than those that are past, and that we have every reason to exult in the confidence that those tokens of the presence of Christ, which have been so abundantly bestowed since the planting of these churches, will be continued till New England shall become a name and a praise in the whole earth.

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## ARTICLE XIV.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

1.—*Hebrew Grammar by George Bush.* New York, 1839. 8vo.

*Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, translated from the eleventh German edition, by T. J. Conant, Prof. in Lit. and Theol. Inst., Hamilton, N. Y.* Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, 1839. pp. 325.

We have looked at a number of the sheets of Prof. Bush's Grammar. It is the second edition greatly enlarged and modified. Indeed it may justly claim to be a new and independent work. The first edition, though unfortunate in the style of its typographical execution, was not without decided merits. It showed its author to be a zealous and successful laborer in this interesting and important field. The second edition, we presume, has been entirely rewritten, and many portions of it reinvestigated. The type employed in printing the volume is good. The paper also receives a fair impression. No one will have cause to find fault with the compositor or proof-reader. We have not space here to go into an examination of the merits of the work. Indeed this would not be practicable without an extended and thorough examination of the whole ground. This, if we had the ability, the limits of a literary notice would not admit. We can only say, that we hope the author will be remunerated according to his merits. It is in some respects an unfavorable time for a new Hebrew Grammar to make its appearance. We have the standard Grammar of Prof. Stuart, which has now reached its sixth edition. Dr. Nordheimer's production is everywhere regarded with favor, as being a very able and philosophical work. Then we are soon to have Prof. Conant's Translation of Gesenius, to say nothing of Ewald and of other German writers. On the other hand, there is a wide and increasing demand in our country for Hebrew Grammars. Multitudes at least commence the study. Not a few students will wish to own two different Grammars, while every teacher will endeavor to be in possession of all the accessible helps. There cannot of course be a large sale for four different Grammars of a dead language, but still we trust that all will find students and patrons, for all are worthy of commendation, though of various merit.

Professor Conant's translation comes out in a very attractive form. Indeed we have no occasion to say anything in praise of it, when we have mentioned the worthy typographer. Mr. Folsom and the uui-

versity press at Cambridge bid fair to rival the Aldine establishments or those of the Stephensens in the old world. The paper is of the purest white, while it is sufficiently firm. The English type presents a beautiful appearance, while the Hebrew is by no means deficient in good qualities. The form of the letter is not so graceful, however, as that employed by Tauchnitz in Hahn's Bible. Some of the letters also appear to be somewhat dim. The book is printed, so far as we can judge, with exceeding accuracy. It is, moreover, we are assured on good authority, well translated. We have read portions of the larger Grammar of Gesenius, the *Lehrgebäude*, to which he frequently refers in his Manual, but we have no copy of the edition from which Mr. Conant has translated. The translator has resided, we believe, sometime in Germany. He has likewise been commendably patient and persevering in his labors on the present volume. The pages which we have read bear indubitable marks of faithful attention, and of a clear and discriminating mind. The English sentences are constructed in an easy and natural manner. Gesenius, indeed, is not obnoxious to the charges so frequently made against his countrymen—of sentences blind by their involution and interminable in their length. He has a simple and straightforward manner. Of the merits of his Grammar, it would be supererogation to say a word.

2.—*On the Foundations of Morals. Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, Nov. 1837, by the Rev. William Whewell, fellow and tutor of Trinity College. With Additional Discourses and Essays, by C. S. Henry, D. D. Professor of Philosophy in the University of the City of New York.* New York: E. French, 1839. pp. 239.

Professor Whewell is well known to many of our readers as the author of one of the best of the Bridgewater Treatises. He is one of the leaders among the eminent scientific individuals of the United Kingdom, and was, one year, we believe, president of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. In the work of which we have given the title, he has entered the territory of morals, and has given us four instructive and valuable discourses. One reason for writing and publishing these sermons is the use by the university of Cambridge of Paley's Moral Philosophy. "I do not think it can be doubted," says the author, "that the general currency which Paley's Moral Philosophy has acquired, (a currency due in no small degree to the adoption of the work by this university,) has had a very large share in producing the confusion and vacillation of thought respecting the grounds of morals, which is at present so generally prevalent in England, even among persons of cultivated minds." The writer whom Whewell adduces as the principal representative

of a better system than Paley's, is Bishop Butler. This eminent writer has indeed constructed no system of morals, but he has discussed the fundamental principle of the subject, in his sermons upon Human Nature, Compassion, Resentment, Love of our Neighbor and Love of God. Prof. Whewell announces his intention to publish the sermons of Butler in a convenient form, arranged so that the different parts could be easily referred to, and provided with a few illustrations of Butler's representation of the principle of human action collected from ancient and modern authors.

The four sermons of Whewell in the present volume are mainly employed in maintaining that conscience is an original and independent power in the human constitution, and in discussing various questions relating to our moral nature. We have been highly gratified with the author's views and with his manner of stating them.

The additional Discourses in this volume by Dr. Henry are on Moral Integrity, The Moral Argument for the Being of God, Moral Requisites for the Knowledge of Divine Things, and The Nature of Moral Obligation. Under the first head, the following principle is illustrated, He who lives in the deliberate and habitual violation of one known command of the Divine law, practically sets at nought the sacred authority which proclaimed the whole, and thereby proves himself to be wanting in the essential principle of true obedience to the whole. The object of the second essay is to show, that to deny the existence of God is to treat all the implanted sentiments and irrepressible aspirations of the heart, and all the dictates of the conscience as a delusion. Thus while the existence of God accounts for all that we behold around us in nature, it harmonizes with all that we feel within us in the sentiments, the dictations and the wants of our essential constitution. The third essay comprehends an earnest and valuable illustration of the words of our Saviour, "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself." A *practical trial* of Christianity is indispensable to all satisfying insight of its nature. In the last treatise, Prof. Henry discusses the essential and immutable distinction between the idea of right and wrong. These terms express the qualities of actions, and not merely the causes of certain agreeable or disagreeable emotions in our minds. These qualities do not depend on any arbitrary relation between our constitution and certain objects. The mind has the faculty, under certain conditions, of forming necessary and universal conceptions, perceiving absolute truths, and passing absolute judgments. Supply the conditions, and the faculty enters into exercise, forms the conceptions, perceives the truth, passes the judgments. At the close of the discussion, Dr. Henry urges various objections against the theory which makes the will of God the ultimate ground of moral obligation, and also against that which places it in an enlightened self-interest.



From this brief abstract, the highly interesting nature of the subjects discussed will be seen. No one can read the volume without profit. Dr. Henry's contributions form an excellent supplement to the sermons of Whewell. The thoughts are clearly expressed and not seldom beautifully illustrated. We commend them to all our readers as worthy of diligent study. They are among the promising indications that a better day in moral science is about to dawn on the English world. Paley no longer reigns in undisputed supremacy.

- 3.—*The Christian Philanthropist ; or Harbinger of the Millennium.* By William Cogswell, D. D. Secretary of the American Education Society. With an Introductory Essay by James Matheson, D. D. of Wolverhampton, England. Second Edition. Boston : Perkins & Marvin, 1839. pp. 394.

Besides the Essay of Dr. Matheson and an Appendix by Dr. Cogswell, there are seventeen Dissertations in this volume, on the following topics : Distribution of the Scriptures, Distribution of Tracts, Foreign Missions, Conversion of the Jews, Home Missions, Supply of Ministers, Sabbath Schools, Promotion of Temperance, Involuntary Servitude, Religious Improvement of Seamen, Reformation of Prisoners, Promotion of Peace, Charitable Contributions, Benevolent Agencies, Qualifications of Public Agents, Revivals of Religion, Millennium. These various topics are discussed with sound judgment and in a scriptural and impressive manner. Nothing will be found in them, which savors of an uncharitable spirit or of partizan views. The various societies are made to appear what they are in reality, fraternal associations, all aiming at one object,—the alleviation of human woe, and the universal diffusion of the gospel. The appendix is not the least valuable part of the volume. About sixty pages are employed in giving details in relation to the various associations. The facts are well condensed and are brought down to the present time with much labor. Dr. Matheson's Essay is a good introduction to the volume. The thoughts are important, and are presented in a judicious and earnest manner.

- 4.—*Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature*, by George Ripley. Boston : Hilliard, Gray & Co.

Four volumes of this very interesting series are now published. The first two were translated by the editor from the French of Victor Cousin, Theodore Jouffroy and Benjamin Constant. The style in which these translations are executed is worthy of all praise. While the meaning of the original is clearly given, the language is well-chosen and graceful. Every page bears marks of an accomplished scholar. The illustrative and other notes will be read with



deep interest. We have been highly gratified with some of the disquisitions of Jouffroy in particular. Many of his thoughts are sagacious and deeply studied. The views which he takes of the present condition of humanity are comprehensive and just. He is not so much known among us as Cousin, but he strikes us as in no wise inferior.

The third volume of the *Specimens* is composed of some of the miscellaneous poems of Goethe and Schiller. The translator is the Rev. John S. Dwight of Boston, assisted by several of his literary friends. In this selection, we recognize some of our old favorites. In order to relish these poems fully, the reader must place himself in the position of the gifted authors. A mere American taste will be sure to misinterpret or scorn them. The fourth volume of the series, translated by S. M. Fuller, is from the *Recollections of Goethe by Eckermann*. The fifth and sixth volumes, which, we believe, are in the press, will comprise *Menzel on German Literature*, by Prof. Felton of Cambridge. Judging by the extracts from this author which we have seen in the foreign reviews, we shall expect a rich treat.

5.—*The Life of William Wilberforce, by his sons, Robert Isaac Wilberforce, M. A. and Samuel Wilberforce, M. A. Abridged from the London edition by Caspar Morris, M. D.* Philadelphia: Henry Perkins, 1839. pp. 544.

This volume is a treasure. No one can read ten pages in it without the conviction that religion is a reality, and that it alone can truly fit man to bear the ills and perform the duties of life, whether that life is spent in the retirement of the study, or in the bustle of courts and forums. Nobly, with the grace of God, did Wilberforce accomplish his errand of mercy. His name will be one of the brightest on the page of history. He sought not for an earthly immortality, but it shall be most surely awarded him. His governing motive was not the praise of man, but praises shall cluster around his head till time shall be no longer.

The reviewers seem to regret that Wilberforce was not a party man. They say, that he was undecided, vacillating, that no one could depend upon him in an extremity. He ought to have been either a whig or a tory. But we rejoice that he was not a mere politician. He was a *statesman*, in the noblest sense of that term. Wits and changelings might have laughed at his simplicity or his methodism. But these men at the same time feared and respected him.

We have only to add that this memoir is fraught with the deepest interest. An abridgement of the English edition was needed, and Dr. Morris has accomplished his task with fidelity and sound judgment.

6.—*Anthon's Series of Classical Works for Schools and Colleges.*  
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1839.

It is with pleasure that we call the attention of our readers to these uniform editions of Latin and Greek Classics. The Editor, Dr. Charles Anthon, is Professor of the Greek and Latin Languages in Columbia College, New York, and brings to the work which he has undertaken an established and high reputation as a scholar, and much experience as an Instructor. The plan proposed is to give editions of all the authors usually read in our schools and colleges, together with such elementary and subsidiary works as may be needed by the classical student, either at the commencement, or at particular stages of his career. The advantages promised in the announcement of this plan are, the latest and best texts; accurate commentaries, putting the student and the instructor in possession of the opinions of the best philologists, together with all such subsidiary information as may serve, not only to throw light upon the meaning of the author, but also to give rise in the young student to habits of correct thinking, and the foundation of a correct taste.

Six volumes of the series are already published, and have met with so much favor in this country,—and some of them in England—as to encourage both the editor and the publishers to proceed with their plan. The works already published are *Select Orations of Cicero*, *Sallust*,—and *Caesar*. These are classics properly so called. The remaining volumes are a *Grammar of the Greek Language*—a *Prosody of the same*,—and a *Grammar with Lessons and a primary Lexicon*.

We may not claim for these books the highest possible perfection, and not having been ourselves engaged, for many years, in the work of classical instruction, we shall leave it to some more competent hand to furnish such criticisms of these productions of the learned editor as the interests of classical literature may require. It may however be proper to remark that, in the opinion of some of our best scholars, Prof. Anthon has not kept pace, in his *Grammar*, with the advancements recently made in the knowledge of Greek. In this department of his work, there is doubtless room for some important improvement.

It has also been objected by some teachers that so copious an array of English notes as are contained in these editions of Cicero, Caesar, etc. is in danger of bribing the student into habits of intellectual sloth. To this it is replied, on behalf of the plan of the editor, that the part of the series which contains the text-books for schools must, in order to be at all useful, have a more extensive supply of annotations than the volumes intended for College Lectures; and that when these last shall make their appearance, the system of commenting adopted in them will not fail to meet the approbation of

all. We think there is good sense in this remark, and that the practical wisdom of the editor is favorably exhibited in thus adapting the different portions of the series to the different stages of advancement of the students for whom each is intended.

As a whole this series of *school-classics* may be regarded as superior to any similar works before published, and as a most needed and valuable contribution to the cause of classical education; and we cheerfully concur in the following remarks of the Rev. Dr. Humphrey, which we quote from a long catalogue of commendatory notices from Presidents and Professors of Colleges and others, appended by the publishers to one of their volumes.—“Professor Anthon deserves and will receive the thanks of the public for the labor which he has so judiciously and successfully bestowed upon Sallust, Caesar and Cicero. The explanatory notes or commentaries are more copious and comprehensive than those of any other edition I have seen, and much better adapted to the wants of young students. Among the most valuable of these notes are those which direct attention to the beautiful uses of the moods and tenses, and explain the delicate shades of meaning and the peculiar beauties that depend upon them, which our language often expresses imperfectly, and with difficulty, and which young learners rarely regard. The explanations, of the force and meaning of the particles are also very useful. The historical, geographical, and other indexes are highly valuable, furnishing the student with felicitous illustrations of the text, and much general information.”

We may add that the typographical execution of these volumes is excellent, which is a merit by no means to be disregarded or lightly esteemed in books designed for classical instruction.

7.—*Sermons by the late Rev. Edward D. Griffin, D. D. to which is prefixed a Memoir of his Life. By William B. Sprague, D. D. Minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation in Albany.* New York: John S. Taylor, 1839. Vols. I. and II. 8vo. pp. 597, 596.

These volumes are beautifully executed by the publisher. We open them with lively recollections of the splendid subject of the *Memoir* which they contain. It was our privilege in youth to enjoy his friendship and counsel, and occasionally to listen to the strains of his peculiar eloquence. He stands conspicuous among the early objects of our admiration, and we cannot divest ourselves of the impressions of his greatness. But, with him, though we trust it *was* “the whole of death to die,” yet even in regard to this world, it was not “the whole of life to live.” Dr. Griffin has left upon the age and the generation which he served living impressions of his intellect, his eloquence and his piety, which would have remained and been



in some measure perpetuated, even if his sermons had perished with the voice that delivered them, and his pen had left nothing on record. It is well, however, that so many of the productions of his capacious mind and glowing affections have been preserved in a tangible form, that the impressions of the living man may thus be repeated upon the generations to come, and constitute their due portion of the history of the church and the country which are bereaved by his death.

In a brief notice of Dr. Griffin's Sermons, as here published, it will not be expected that we shall enter upon a critical examination of their characteristics and merits.\* Nor is it at all necessary, while the distinguished talents and impressive eloquence of their author are fresh in the remembrance of so large a portion of our readers, that we commend them as deeply instructive, and as splendid productions of the kind,—worthy of a place in every library, as among the very best sermons in the English language. The number of sermons in these volumes is *sixty*, most of which are on subjects of a highly practical character, and constitute an invaluable legacy to posterity, while his biographer informs us that “there are, still remaining in Manuscript, Sermons enough to make one or two additional volumes, all of which have been re-written in his later years, and have undergone his finishing touch.”

The writer of the Memoir, Dr. Sprague, has given us the character of Dr. Griffin, with great candor, and in a style worthy of himself and of his subject. This part of the first volume occupies 270 pages, and is composed of a rich selection of extracts from the private journal of Dr. G. and of letters written to friends and members of his family, describing some exceedingly touching scenes, and exhibiting in a most interesting light the characteristics of his piety as well as of his mind. His peaceful and happy death and the state of mind with which he approached the hour of his triumph, are tenderly and graphically described by his daughter, Mrs. Smith; and the whole is concluded with a “general estimate of his character and influences” by the author of the Memoir, which strikes us as discriminating and just, leaving the venerated subject of the whole to live in our recollections as one of the brightest lights of his age, and honouring the Providence of God by which he was fitted for the wide sphere of influence and usefulness to which he was advanced.

8.—*Sermons to a Country Congregation. By Augustus William Hare, A. M. Late Fellow of New College and Rector of Alton Barnes. First American, from the Third London Edition.* New York: Appleton and Co. 1839. pp. 497. 8vo.

The number of sermons contained in this volume is *fifty-six*. They are short and written in a familiar parochial style, and are

\* This we trust may be done in a more extended review, in some future No. of the Repository.



addressed with great plainness and directness to a plain people. They are of a practical character, exhibiting the common topics of the gospel in a rich and attractive variety of aspects, and present to the reader much of the sincere milk of the word. They remind one of the Sermons of Walker and of Burder, and are perhaps equally well suited to be read with profit in religious meetings and conferences, their style being in a remarkable degree faultless and their instructions simple and easily understood. The author, however, is a minister of the church of England, and occasionally alludes to the forms and usages of that church in a manner which will render his sermons less acceptable for common and social use in some other denominations in this country. We observe also that in one of the "*Visitation Sermons*," near the end of the volume, he commends a "national religion," as the only "security for the quiet and civilization of a people, or for the strength and solidity of a commonwealth."—In the American edition, it would have been well if these few peculiarities, which are adapted to English usages and views, had been omitted. But these exceptions are of minor importance and the general spirit of the book will commend itself to evangelical Christians of all classes.

9.—*Algic Researches, comprising Inquiries respecting the Mental Characteristics of the North American Indians. First Series. Indian Tales and Legends. In two volumes. By Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1839. pp. 248, 244.*

Mr. Schoolcraft is favorably known to the reading public as the author of several Journals of travels through remote portions of our Northern and Western frontiers, as well as by his occasional contributions to our periodical literature. Having been for the last twenty years in the employment of the United States Government, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs on the N. W. boundaries, having been associated in many of his inquiries, with Gen. Cass, Mr. Trowbridge and others, to whom we are indebted for several scientific notices of Indian character and habits, and being also connected by marriage with a refined and educated descendant of an aboriginal tribe, Mr. S. may be relied on as possessing advantages for investigating and making known the mental and other characteristics of the North American Indians, superior to those of any other man now living. We have therefore waited with interest for the appearance of the two volumes above named; and after a cursory perusal of several of these "*Tales and Legends*," we are happy to assure our readers that our expectations are not disappointed. They exhibit some curious and interesting traits of Indian character, which have been little known and appreciated even by those who have been most familiar with the

history of their external habits and their exploits in war. Their legends introduce us into the interior of their consciousness, and excite our deep sympathies in their degradation and darkness, while we are charmed with the traces of intellect, and of the moral sense, which are exhibited in some of their curious speculations and wild and incoherent imaginings. There are in some of their conceptions a refinement and beauty, which ill accord with our common impressions of the savage mind and heart. That they are cruel in war, unrelenting in their private resentments, and vindictive against those by whom they have been injured, is the result not of a nature more cruel and unfeeling than that of other races of men, but of the darkness in which they have been left to grope for so many ages. It is the natural consequence of their ignorance of the truth as it is revealed to us in the Scriptures, of their ever varying and erroneous conceptions of the attributes and requirements of the Great Spirit, the "*Unknown God*," whom they worship, and of their superstitious, not to say religious, belief of a system of falsehood, which is incorporated with all their modes of thinking.

But we have neither time nor room to express much that we feel on this subject. The two volumes before us seem to have been compiled with much care and candor by the author, and we cannot but regard them as a highly valuable contribution to the literature of the age. They will be sought by the learned as affording a new and instructive lesson in the science of anthropology, by the philanthropic as presenting new evidences of Indian susceptibilities of moral impressions, and by the multitude for the amusement they afford, by their novelty and eccentricity. As a whole, these volumes strike us as more entertaining than the "*Arabian Nights*," and some of the conceptions which they contain of the spiritual world are hardly surpassed in the Mythology of any of the ancient heathen nations, while their conjurations, enchantments and metamorphoses scarcely fall below those of Ovid, in the strangeness and wit of their conception; and some of them convey moral lessons quite as much to the point.

As is indicated in the title of these volumes, they are presented to the public as the first of a series of volumes on the distinctive opinions and the intellectual character of the Indians, their mythology, their hieroglyphics, music, poetry, the grammatical structure of their languages, etc., for all which the author possesses ample materials, and which it is his purpose to publish, provided the public shall manifest a sufficient interest in the subject to encourage him to persevere in his undertaking. We trust his best anticipations in this respect will be fully realized.

- 10.—*The Jubilee of the Constitution. A Discourse delivered at the request of the New-York Historical Society in the city of New-York, on Tuesday the 30th of April 1839, being the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, on Thursday the 30th of April 1789. By John Quincy Adams. New-York: Samuel Colman, 1839. pp. 136.*

The occasion, the subject and the author of this discourse are in happy keeping with each other, and such as to excite the highest expectations of the reader, when he opens its pages. In our own case these expectations have been more than answered. In discoursing upon the history of the Constitution of the United States, the venerable ex-president appears in his glory. He briefly presents the occasion and the spirit of the war, and the principles of the Declaration of Independence, and then traces, step by step, with consummate ability, the departure from those principles in the early endeavors to organize a confederation of the states, the disastrous consequences of that departure, and the admirable spirit and temper with which the present constitution of the general government was adopted in 1789. This early and interesting history, together with the flood of light which it sheds upon the principles, progress and blessings of the government to the present time lift this discourse far above the level of ordinary patriotic addresses, and will make it an enduring monument, to which the American patriot and Christian may recur in all future time to refresh their recollections of the principles which lie at the foundation of our union, and to inspire their gratitude to the Great Disposer of all events for the blessings he has conferred upon us as a free people.

- 11.—*The Metropolitan Pulpit; or Sketches of the Most Popular Preachers in London. By the author of "Random Recollections," "The Great Metropolis," "Travels in Town," etc. etc. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1839. pp. 416.*

For the moral effect of the publication of this book upon the "popular preachers" whose talents and characters it attempts to describe, we would not choose to be responsible. They must already have attained to much of the grace of humility, or this publication can hardly be expected to be the means, to them, of more grace. To us, however, who live upon this side of the waters, and whose intercourse with our parent land is becoming daily more intimate, it cannot but be interesting, and perhaps profitable, to know as much as we may of the characteristic traits and comparative talents and standing of the individuals who compose the christian ministry of London. We have read several of these "Sketches," from which



we judge the book to be written with considerable discrimination and ability. It contains professed descriptions of fifty-three of the ministers of London, and the author expresses his regret at being obliged to omit, for the present, many distinguished names. The curiosity of American readers, however, will be excited by the circle of foreign divines here presented to their acquaintance, and we doubt not the book will be read.

- 12.—*The Life, Times and Characteristics of John Bunyan, author of the Pilgrim's Progress. By Robert Philip, author of the Life and Times of Whitefield, the Experimental Guide, etc.* New York : D. Appleton & Co. 1839. pp. 498.

The church and the world have, long since, done justice to the character and genius of Bunyan. He has received all the heart-homage which can well be paid to a christian author, and stands in no need either of a vindicator or a eulogist. These considerations together with the prevalent impression, that, as Montgomery has well observed, his *CHRISTIAN*, in the "*Pilgrim's Progress*" is "a full length portrait of himself," have caused a century and a half to pass away without producing a *Life of Bunyan*. We have had numerous sketches of his life, but no professedly full biography, until Dr. Philip, having his attention directed to the experience of this remarkable man, in the course of his investigations for another object, has accomplished the work and made a valuable addition to our biographical literature in the volume before us. It is written in an attractive style, and brings to light much that was before unknown or unnoticed, as well as much to enlarge and illustrate what was best known in the history of Bunyan. It claims, indeed, to be as complete a *Life of Bunyan*, as his own documents or the traditions of his country can furnish at this late period. It will doubtless be a popular, as it cannot fail to be a useful book.

- 13.—*A Critical Exposition of Mental Philosophy ; or the First Principles of Metaphysics ; embracing a Critical Analysis of Ideas, the elements of Reasoning, and the Philosophy of the Feelings and Will. Adapted to Academic and Popular use. By Leicester A. Sawyer, A. M.* New Haven : Durrie and Peck, 1839. pp. 316.

It is easy to write a book on mental philosophy. The subject is one, which, to every mind accustomed to reflect upon its own acts, presents an endless variety of details, out of which to form theories and conduct disquisitions. There is therefore absolutely no limit to the range which this subject presents to any one who is inclined to pursue its investigation, unless he has good judgment and decision enough



to fix a limit to his own inquiries. This however is not often done with sufficient precision, and hence we have many theories of the mind differing from each other, in consequence of the different points at which the writers have entered the field, and the number and extent of the materials embraced in their discussions. Thus the true nature of the subject is not fully reached, or it is encumbered and obscured by additions of science falsely so called.

To avoid these incumbrances and produce a philosophy of the mind worthy of all acceptance, the inquirer should plant himself on those fixed principles of intellectual science, on which all reflecting men agree. These together with those mental phenomena which are supported by the testimony of universal experience, should constitute the foundation of his structure, and nothing should be "built-ed thereupon," which will not stand firmly upon this foundation, or which shall in any measure disturb or disarrange the materials of it. Having attained this agreement as to fundamental principles and facts, the next object to be aimed at should be agreement in the use and definition of the proper terms to express these principles and facts. If every new writer invents new terms, or gives new definitions to old ones, the result will soon be a confusion of tongues on this whole subject. This is one error into which we think Mr. Sawyer has fallen in the work before us. He has extended, for instance, the signification of the word *mind*, so as to embrace the principle of life in animals and vegetables, as well as in man, and speaks of "animal minds" and "vegetable minds." This, in our view, at once introduces confusion into the science, and leads the author to some absurd conclusions. Following out the theory indicated by this definition, and subjecting all "minds, human, animal and vegetable," to one general law, he infers the actual extension of mind and its "capacity of indefinite extension," "as the same vegetable mind which is now limited to the narrow dimensions of an acorn, is capable of being expanded to those of the largest oak, and the same human mind which is now restricted to the narrow dimensions of an infant body, is capable of being expanded to those of the largest man." He infers also the "indefinite divisibility of mind," and hence, the probability that minds are propagated by division, the mind of the offspring, (vegetable, animal, or human,) being a disconnected part of that of the parent, and a successor to it. The reader will judge whether this language does not confound mind with matter, and far overstep the proper boundaries of mental science.

There are some other fanciful positions assumed in this book, from which we must beg leave to dissent, but which the limits of our notice will not allow us to discuss. On the whole, though this publication indicates considerable study of the subject, and contains some sound principles and valuable remarks, we are sorry to add

that in our judgment the author has failed to adapt it with any probable prospect of success or profit, either to "Academic" or "popular use."

- 14.—*A Review of Edwards's "Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will." Containing I. Statement of Edwards's System. II. The Legitimate Consequences of this System. III. An Examination of the Arguments against a Self-Determining Will. By Henry Philip Tappan. New York: John S. Taylor, 1839. pp. 300.*

This is a work the appearance of which is ominous of good. It indicates an existing and a growing spirit of free inquiry and of liberal thought. It may be considered as representing the views of a portion of the religious community upon a subject the most interesting and difficult in the whole range of metaphysics, and of deep practical importance. It is the most elaborate and extended professed review of 'Edwards on the Will,' that has appeared in this country, with the exception of the 'Examination' by the late Dr. Dana of New Haven, the successive parts of which were published in 1770 and 1773. We are glad to see a work embodying the results of more recent investigations in this department, as it will bring the subject more fairly into the field for discussion, and the great mass of our theologians and metaphysicians, who stand substantially on the ground of Edwards, will know with whom and with what they are to contend.

Prof. Tappan seems to enter upon his task in a spirit of manly impartiality. He thinks that the progress of independent inquiry upon the subject has been greatly retarded by its connection with theological controversies, and is determined that his own shall be a purely psychological investigation. He proposes to submit the theory of Edwards to the test of consciousness, and so far from weakening the supports of evangelical religion, he hopes by this independent process to place it on a surer basis.

In the first part of the work is presented an analysis of the five sections which comprise the first part of the 'Inquiry into the Freedom of the Will.' On the basis of this analysis, the author presents a Compend of what he understands to be the Psychological System of President Edwards. This is followed by a brief comparison of the systems of Edwards and Locke.

The Second part presents "The legitimate Consequences of Edwards's system," both those which are derived from it by its advocates, so far as they are logically deducible, and those which are inferred by its enemies, who wish by a *reductio ad absurdum* to overthrow it. The legitimacy of some of these consequences is at least a fair subject for dispute.

The Third part is designed to refute the arguments of Edwards against the self determining power of the will, and against a contingent determination. With reference to the reduction of a self determining act of will to the absurdity of 'an act before the first,' the author states that such reasoning would be fatal to all causality, even that of motives, that it is contrary to the testimony of consciousness, and to the virtual admissions of President Edwards himself. The real point in dispute he considers the necessary or contingent determination of the will—and to that part of the subject he devotes the remainder of his work. To give an abstract of this defence of a contingent will would be impossible in the limits of this notice. We hope to be able in a subsequent and more extended article to give our own views of the positions here so ably maintained, to several of which, we do not yield our assent.

The becoming respect and veneration exhibited by the author towards the distinguished theologian whose theory he assails, may be seen from the following passage. 'The great man with whose work I have been engaged, I honor and admire for his intellectual might, and love and venerate for a purity and elevation of spirit, which places him among the most sainted names of the christian church. But have I done wrong not to be seduced by his genius, nor won and commanded by his piety to the belief of his philosophy? I have not done wrong if that be a *false* philosophy. When he leads me to the cross, and speaks to me of salvation, I hear in mute attention—and one of the old preachers of the martyr age seems to have reappeared. But when we take a walk in the Academic grove, I view him in a different character, and here his voice does not sound to me so sweet as Plato's.'

This work, we learn from the author, is to be followed by another, now in the course of preparation, which will present "the true doctrine of the will as determined by an appeal to consciousness," and as connected with moral agency, and the precepts of the Bible.

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*Additional Notices of New Publications.*

We have prepared notices of the following books, which we are obliged to defer.

Fuhrmann's Manual of Recent Theological Literature. German. 1836.

Memoir of Mrs. Sarah L. Smith, late of the Mission in Syria, under the direction of the A. B. C. F. M. By Edward W. Hooker, Pastor of the First Cong. Church, Bennington, Vt. Boston : Perkins & Marvin, 1839. pp. 407. One of the very best memoirs we have read.

Mc Donner; or Truth through Fiction. By Jacob Abbott. Boston : Crocker & Brewster, 1839. pp. 283.—An intensely interesting book.

Narrative of a Journey to Guatemala in Central America in 1838. By G. W. Montgomery. New York : Wiley & Putnam, 1839. pp. 195.



Impressions of Travel in Egypt and Arabia Petraea. By Alexander Dumas. Translated from the French, by a Lady of New York. New York: John S. Taylor, 1839. pp. 318.

Memoir of Mrs. Elizabeth Mc Farland; or Full Assurance of Hope the Reward of Diligence in the Christian Life. By Nathaniel Bouton. Concord, N. H.: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1839. pp. 319.

The World's Religion, as contrasted with Genuine Christianity. By Lady Colquhoun, daughter of the Hon. Sir John Sinclair. New York: John S. Taylor, 1839. pp. 207.

School History of the United States, containing Maps, a Chronological Chart, and an Outline of Topics for a more extensive Course of Study. By S. R. Hall and A. R. Baker. Andover: William Pierce, 1839. pp. 368.

The Three Last Things; the Resurrection of the Body, Day of Judgment, and Final Retribution. By Joseph Tracy. Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1839. pp. 104.

Spiritual Improvement; or Aid to Growth in Grace. A Companion for the Christian's Closet. By Ray Palmer, Pastor of the Third Cong. Church, Bath, Me. Boston: Perkins & Marvin, 1839. pp. 239.

## ARTICLE XV.

### LITERARY AND MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

#### United States.

*The Presbyterian Controversy*.—In the last Number of the Repository we inserted a brief Notice of the Decision of Judge Rogers on the cause pending before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania in relation to the two bodies claiming to be the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church. Since that date the cause has been argued before the Court, in Bank, the Decision of Judge Rogers reversed, and a new trial ordered. A. McElroy, Philadelphia, has in press and nearly ready for publication, an "*Accurate and Impartial Report*," of about 400 pages, embracing all the pleadings, testimony, arguments and documents of the case. Our readers may expect a Review of this volume, and of the conflicting decisions of the Court of Pennsylvania in regard to it, in the next Number of the Repository, prepared by a gentleman of the Bar.

#### Europe.

The following are some of the most important theological and philological works that have appeared in Europe within the past year:

Der Brief an die Hebräer, theoretisch-praktisch erklärt. Von Dr. K. W. Stein. 8vo. Leipzig. 1838.

Allgemeine Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche von dem Ende des Tridentinischen Conciliums bis auf unsere Tage. Von Dr. E. Münch. 8vo. Carlsruhe, 1839.

Kommentar über die Genesis. Von Dr. Fr. Tuch. 8vo. Halle 1838.

Neue Kritische Untersuchungen über das Buch Daniel. Von Dr. H. Hävernich. 8vo. Hamburg, 1838.



Die Christliche Kirche auf Erden nach der Lehre der heiligen Schrift und der Geschichte. Von Dr. N. C. Kist, trans. from the Dutch by Dr. L. Tross. 8vo. Leipzig. 1838.

Mohammed's Religion nach ihrer inneren Entwicklung und ihrem Einflusse auf das Leben der Völker. Eine historische Betrachtung. Von Prof. J. J. J. Döllinger. 4to. Regensburg, 1838.

F. Wüllner, über die Verwandtschaft des Indo-germanischen, Semitischen und Tibetanischen, nebst einer Einleitung über den Ursprung der Sprache. 8vo. Münster. 1838.

A. Pietet, de l'Affinité des langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

*Hebrew.*—Die Thränen oder Klagelieder Jeremiae, mit Benutzung älterer und neuerer Manuscripte, edirt, erklärt, und metrisch übersetzt, von L. H. Löwenstein. 8vo. Frankfurt, 1838.

Salomo's Proverbien, mit Benutzung älterer und neuerer Manuscripte, edirt, erklärt, und metr. übersetzt. By the same.

Jesurim sive Prolegomenon in Concordantias Veteris Testamenti a Julio Fürstio editas, Libris tres, 8vo. Grimmae, 1838.

Schulehan Aruch, oder die vier Jüdischen Gesetzbücher. Des 2ten Buchs (Privat-Recht) 2te Hälfte, im Deutsche übertragen. Mit einem Anhang von H. G. F. Löwe sen. 8vo. Hamburg, 1838.

Philonis Judaei de Vita Mosis. Hoc est de Theologia et Prophetia idiome Graeco olim descripta et in tres libros divisa, nunc autem in linguam hebraicum translata auctaque una notis in usum lectorum, etc. 8vo. Prague, 1839.

*Arabic and Persian.*—Le Diwan d'Amro'lkaïs, précédé de la vie de ce poète par l'auteur der Kitale El-Aghani. Text with French translation and Notes. 4to. Paris, 1838. Also by the same editor.

Kitale Wafayat Al-Ainyan. Viers des Hommes illustres de l'Islamisme en Arabe, par Ibn Khallikan. Vol. 1. Part. I. 4to.

Arabum Proverbia vocalibus instruxit, latine vertit, commentario illustravit, et sumptibus suis edidit G. W. Freytag. Vol. I. Part. I. containing the collection of Meidani. 8vo. Bonn. 1839.

Scriptorum Arabum de Rebus Indicis loci et opuscula, ad codicum fidem recensuit et illustravit Joh. Gildemeister. Fasc. I. 8vo. Bonn, 1839.

Suirchondi Historia Seleucidarum, persicè; a codd. MSS. nunc primum edidit et annotationibus illustravit Prof. J. A. Vullers. 8vo. Gissae, 1839. Also a German translation and notes, by the same author.

Mahmud Schebistei's Rosenflor des Geheimnisses. Persian and German translation, and edited by Hammer Pingstall. 4to. Perth, 1839.

*Sanscrit.*—Ramayana, id est Carmen epicum de Ramae rebus gestis Poeta antiquissimi Valmici opus. Textum codd. MSS. collatis recensuit, interp. lat. et annot. crit. adjecit Dr. A. G. Schlegel. 2 vols. 8vo. 1839.

Anthologia Sanscritica, glossario instructa, in usum scholarum edidit Dr. Chr. Lassen. 8vo. Bonn, 1839.

Gita Govinda Jayadevae Poeta Indici. Drama lyricum. Textum ad fidem libr. MSS. recogn. scholia selecta, annot. criticam interp. lat. adjecit Prof. Chr. Lassen. 4to. Bonn, 1839.

Institutiones linguae Practicae. By the same. 8vo. Bonn.

*Chinese.*—Théâtre Chinois, or Choix de pièces de théâtre composées sous empereurs mongols, traduites pour la première fois sur le texte original, précédées d'une introduction et accompagnies, etc. Notes. 8vo. Paris, 1839.

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ARTICLE I.

THE TALMUD AND THE RABBIES.

By Isaac Nordheimer, D. P., Prof. Orient. Lang., University of the city of New-York.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

A KNOWLEDGE of the history and usages of that peculiar community, of whom were the Fathers and the Prophets, and of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, must be regarded as an object of deep and permanent interest, not only to Christians of every name, but to the general scholar. Aside however from the Scriptures of the Old Testament, which they hold in common with us, the ancient literature and learning of the Jews, having been preserved in the Hebrew tongue, and not translated into modern languages, are but very inadequately appreciated, as they are but partially understood, by the majority even of our scholars and divines. *The Talmud and the Rabbies* are familiar to us by name; but little more is known of them by the mass of those who have occasion to refer to their names, than that the one is a Jewish book and that the others are Jewish teachers. Of the contents and extent of the former or the station, duties and general character of the latter

most of us have received only vague and indefinite impressions. The present article has therefore been solicited from the author, who is familiar with the whole range of Rabbinical learning. The editor is also assured that Dr. Nordheimer is not of that class of the Jews who submit their consciences to the traditional authority of the Talmud, as a divine revelation. With him the "Law and the Testimony" are the Old Testament Scriptures, and he feels no restraint in treating the traditional books of the Jews as merely human compositions, of no authority whatever excepting so far as they contain veritable history and sound instruction. He writes, therefore, not as an advocate of the Jewish traditions, but as a scholar, who, possessing the keys of this storehouse of learning, is willing to open it to the inspection of that large class of our readers who have had less opportunity of becoming acquainted with its curious and interesting interior structure and history, as well as with the accumulated mass of useless plenty which it contains.

To the Christian scholar the intrinsic merit of this article will sufficiently commend it, while to the mere English reader it will be found altogether intelligible and instructive. We are happy to add that the same author proposes in a future No. of the Repository to favor us with a brief sketch of the history of Jewish schools and literature, from the date of the Talmud to the present time, from which we may hope to derive a better knowledge than we have heretofore possessed, of the present internal state of that interesting and dispersed community, and of the manner in which we may hope most successfully to approach its members with the influences of Christianity.

EDITOR.

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#### GENEALOGICAL ORDER OF TRADITION.

The great body of precepts and illustrations relating to Jewish faith and practice entitled the Talmud (תַּלְמוּד, *doctrine*, from the Chald. לָמַד *to learn*) consists of the Mishnah (מִשְׁנָה *second law*, δευτέρωνος, from שָׁחַ *to repeat*), which forms its text, and a perpetual commentary called the Gemara (גְּמָרָא *completion*, from גָּמַר *to finish*). There are two of these commentaries, one composed in Palestine and the

other in Babylonia, which form together with the Mishnah the Jerusalem Talmud (ת' ירושלמי) and the Babylonian Talmud (ת' בבלי).

The Mishnah contains what is termed the *oral law* (פזרה שפבעל פה), forming the explanation and completion of the Pentateuch or *written law* (פזרה שפבכתב). It is affirmed by the Jews that Moses received this oral law immediately from the Deity, and that he delivered it to the children of Israel, who handed it down by tradition from generation to generation until about the middle of the second century of the Christian era, when it was reduced by Rabbi Judah Hannasi to the form of a written volume.

The two Gemaras, of Jerusalem and Babylonia, in addition to expositions of the contents of the Mishnah and discussions on disputed points of doctrine, contain also historical and biographical notices, legends, disquisitions on astronomy and sympathetic medicine, aphorisms, apologues, parables, short and pithy sermons, and rules of ethics and of practical wisdom in general. The Jerusalem Gemara was composed at the city of Tiberias by R. Jochanan about seventy years after the compilation of the Mishnah (viz. 230 A. D.). It is so named, either from the dialect in which it is written (a corrupt Chaldee), or because it embodies the learning of the schools of Palestine, whose metropolis was Jerusalem, in order to distinguish it from the similar but far more copious Babylonian Gemara, composed in Babylonia about a century later by Rabbies Ashi and Abhina.

The miscellaneous nature of the contents of these productions sufficiently bespeaks the remoteness and antiquity of their origin. There is still, however, a certain order observed in the disposal of the numerous distinct treatises composing them, of which there are twenty-four in the Jerusalem Talmud, and sixty-three in the Babylonian. As the Mishnah is believed by the Jews to have been received by Moses directly from God himself, they hold it in the highest esteem and veneration, regarding its authority as equal to that of the Bible, of which they say it forms the completion. The order of the principal men who became in succession the depositaries of this sacred tradition, and who handed it down in an unbroken series from Moses to the period when it was committed to writing, is given by R. Moses ben Maimon, or as he is more commonly called Maimonides, in



the introduction to his celebrated digest of Jewish law entitled the *Yad Hachazakah* (יד החזקה *the strong hand*). His account, somewhat condensed, is as follows :

All the laws given to Moses on Mount Sinai were accompanied by their interpretation ; as it is written, " I will give thee tables of stone, and the law, and the commandment." (Ex. 21: 12). " The law" (הַתּוֹרָה) means the written law, and " the commandment" (הַמִּצְוָה) its interpretation, the oral law. Although this oral law was not preserved in writing, Moses taught it all to the seventy elders composing his Beth-din (בית דין) or tribunal.\* Eleazar the priest, Phin-

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\* The manner of making this communication, says Maimonides (Preface to *Zeraim*), was according to the Talmud (*Erubhin* ch. 5, fol. 55), as follows: " When Moses had received a commandment from God, he withdrew to his tent, and was followed thither by Aaron, to whom he taught both the commandment that had been given him and its accompanying exposition ; after which Aaron took his seat at the right hand of Moses. Aaron's two sons, Eleazar and Ithamar, then entered ; and, Moses having repeated to them all that he had told their father, they seated themselves, the one on the left hand of Moses, and the other on Aaron's right. The seventy elders were next called in, and to them Moses recapitulated what he had before told to Aaron and his sons. After this the tent was thrown open to the body of the people and to every one who came to seek the Lord. To these Moses once more rehearsed what he had already imparted to Aaron, his sons, and the seventy elders ; so that every individual received the commandment and its exposition directly from his lips. Thus Aaron heard the instruction repeated by Moses four several times, his sons thrice, the elders twice, and the mass of the people once. When this was completed, Moses retired, and Aaron repeated the commandment and its exposition to all present ; and when his sons had thus likewise heard the commandment four times, viz. three times from Moses and once from their father, Aaron also retired. His sons then did the same, and after them the seventy elders : so that the elders heard the instruction four times, viz. twice from the lips of Moses, once from Aaron, and once from his sons ; and so did likewise the people, who heard it once from Moses, once from Aaron, once from his sons, and once from the elders."

When the congregation dispersed, the people instructed one another in what they had heard from the mouth of Moses,

as his son, and Joshua were likewise instructed by Moses, especially the latter, who was his own immediate disciple. From Joshua, who spent his life in teaching it, the oral law was transmitted to many of the elders of the people; and from them and Phineas it was received by Eli. It then passed successively through the hands of Samuel and his tribunal, David and his tribunal, Abiah the Shilonite and his tribunal, Elijah, Elisha, Jehoida the priest, Zechariah, Hosea,

and wrote down the commandments on rolls (מגילות); the head men of the nation also went about teaching and expounding the commandments to the people, until they were made thoroughly acquainted with them. The commandments themselves were alone set down in writing, the expositions being merely committed to memory. Thus, for example, when the Holy One (blessed be he!) said to Moses, "Ye shall dwell in booths seven days" (Lev. 23: 42), this was written down; but in addition thereto Moses received from the Deity the full and circumstantial explanation which the commandment required; such as that it was to be held obligatory on males only, and that, besides females, all persons in sickness or on a journey were to be exempt from its observance. The materials of which the booths were to be constructed were likewise prescribed, as well as their form, dimensions, &c., all of which are detailed with great minuteness in the Talmud. The same holds true with respect to the whole of the six hundred and thirteen commandments that were delivered to Moses.

In the eleventh month (Shebhat) of the fortieth year after the departure from Egypt, Moses caused the people to be assembled, and said to them, "The time of my death is drawing nigh: if therefore any one of you have forgotten any decision (החלטה) of the Law that he has heard, let him come to me, and I will repeat and explain it; and if any have a question to ask, I will answer it," as it is written (Deut. 1: 5), "Moses began to expound the law." Thus the people received instruction in every thing pertaining to the law from the mouth of Moses himself, who was engaged in this work from the first day of the eleventh month to the seventh of the twelfth month (Adar). A short time before his death, Moses wrote out thirteen complete copies of the law on parchment, and gave one of them to every tribe as the constant rule of their future conduct; the remaining one he gave to the Levites to be deposited in the ark, saying, "Take this book," &c. (Deut. 31: 26). He then ascended Mount Nebo about noon of the seventh day of the month Adar (Megillah, fol. 13), and returned no more.

Amos, Isaiah, Micah, Joel, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah, and their tribunals; from Jeremiah it was received by Baruch ben Neriah, who transmitted it to Ezra and his tribunal. This last mentioned tribunal is usually distinguished by the title of the High Synod (בְּנֵי־הַסֵּנֶדֶר); the men who composed it were Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel, Hananiah, Michael, Azariah, Nehemiah ben Hachaliah, Mordecai, Bilshan, Zerubbabel, and others to the number of one hundred and twenty. The last surviving member was Simon, surnamed the Just, who succeeded Ezra in the office of high priest; and from him the law was transmitted in succession to Antigonus of Socho, Jose ben Joeser of Soreda and Jose ben Jochanan of Jerusalem, Joshua ben Perachia and Nithai the Arbelite, Judah ben Tabai and Simon ben Shatach, Shamaiah and Abtalion, Hillel and Shamaï, and R. Jochanan ben Zaccai who lived at the period of the destruction of the second temple. This last had five distinguished pupils, who were R. Eleazar ben Hurkanus, surnamed the Great, R. Joshua, R. Jose the priest, R. Simeon ben Nathaniel, and R. Eleazar ben Aroch. R. Akibha ben Joseph, whose father was a proselyte, succeeded R. Eleazar the great, and was followed by R. Ishmael and R. Meir, the latter of whom was also a proselyte's son. R. Meir was taught by R. Ishmael, as were also his associates R. Judah, R. Jose, R. Simeon, R. Nehemiah, R. Eleazar ben Shamna, R. Jochanan the sandal-maker, R. Simon ben Asai, and R. Chanina ben Teradion. In like manner the associates of R. Akibha, who were R. Tarphon the teacher of R. Jose the Galilean, R. Simon ben Eleazar, and R. Jochanan ben Nuri, were instructed by R. Eleazar the great. R. Gamaliel the elder received the tradition from his father R. Simon ben Hillel, and imparted it in turn to his son Simon; from him it was received by his son Gamaliel, who was followed by his son R. Simon the third. After him came his son R. Judah, generally called "our holy rabbi" (רַבֵּינוּ הַקֹּדֶשׁ), to whom the tradition was likewise transmitted by R. Eleazar ben Shamna and his associates.

This R. Judah the holy compiled the Mishnah. From the death of Moses to his own age, no book had been composed for public instruction containing the oral law; but in every generation the chief of the tribunal or the prophet who lived at the time, made memoranda of what he had heard from his predecessors and instructors, and communi-



cated it orally to the people. In like manner each individual committed to writing for his own use, and according to the degree of his ability, the oral laws and the information he had received respecting the interpretation of the Bible, with the various decisions that had been pronounced in every age, and sanctioned by the authority of the grand tribunal.

The great mass of traditional and judicial knowledge which had been accumulating for so many centuries, was, as we have said, collected and digested by R. Judah the holy in the form of the Mishnah. The reason which induced him to depart from the custom hitherto observed of teaching orally, was the desire to rescue these traditions from the oblivion into which they were then in danger of falling; for he saw that the numbers of the pupils were gradually decreasing as persecutions increased, that the might of tyranny was fast overspreading the world, and that Israel was in continual commotion and scattered to the ends of the earth. Accordingly he composed this book, in order that all might easily learn and recollect its contents. He and his numerous tribunal were engaged during his whole life-time in public instruction. The most distinguished men belonging to this body were his two sons, Simeon and Gamaliel, R. Ephes, Chanina ben Chama, R. Chiya, Rabh, R. Janai, Bar Caphara, Samuel, R. Jochanan, and R. Hosea. R. Jochanan, the youngest of them, was afterwards the disciple of R. Janai, from whom he received the tradition; Rabh was also taught by R. Janai, and Samuel by R. Chanina ben Chama. Rabh composed the books called Siphra (ספרא) and Siphri (ספרי), for the purpose of expounding and elucidating the Mishnah. To the same end R. Chiya composed the Tosephta (תוספתא addition), and R. Hosea and Bar Caphara the Beraitha (ברייתא exoteric doctrine).

R. Jochanan composed the Jerusalem Talmud. The most distinguished sages who succeeded Rabh and Samuel were R. Huna, R. Judah, R. Nachman, and R. Gaana; and the most celebrated of those who came after R. Jochanan were Rabbah ben Bar Chana, R. Chiya bar Aba, R. Ami, R. Assi, R. Dimi, and R. Abon. After R. Huna and R. Judah, we have with others Rabba and R. Joseph the blind; and amongst the successors of these latter, Abaya, and Rabha, both of whom received instruction from R. Nachman. The principal pupils of Rabha were R. Ashi and R. Abhina, which two were the last of the talmudic doctors (בעלי התלמוד). From Moses to them are forty generations.



R. Ashi, with the assistance of his friend R. Abhina, composed the Babylonian Talmud about a century after the completion of the Talmud of Jerusalem. The object of both these works, was to furnish a detailed explanation of the Mishnah, and to record the numerous important decisions made by the tribunals, since the time of R. Judah the holy. From these two Talmuds, and from the books Siphra, Siphri, and Tosephta, we learn what according to the Jewish laws is prohibited and what allowed, what is clean and what unclean, what is guilty and what innocent, what is lawful and what unlawful, precisely as was taught to Moses on Sinai; from them also we learn the commands of the rabbies and of the prophets who in each succeeding age had contributed to fence about the law, according to the express injunction of Moses, "And ye shall watch my statutes" (Lev. 19: 37), i. e. ye shall place a guard around them.

Having presented the reader with this condensed view of the genealogical order of tradition as given by Maimonides, which may be of assistance towards the better comprehension of a more particularized statement, we will now proceed with an outline of the history of the ancient Jewish schools in Palestine and Babylonia, chiefly as contained in Dr. Jost's classical work, the "*Geschichte des Israelitischen Volkes*."

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE JEWISH SCHOOLS IN PALESTINE,  
FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF THE SECOND TEMPLE TO  
THE COMPILATION OF THE MISHNAH.

At the period when the second temple was destroyed (A. D. 135) and with it the political existence of the Jewish people, there was still one class of the scattered population of Jerusalem that preserved, even without its walls, some degree of union among themselves; and these were the learned men. Being well convinced that their present calamities, in which they recognized the fulfilment of ancient prophecy, were brought about by the neglect and disobedience shown to the laws of God, they used every exertion to bring back the remnant of the people to a religious life, as the only means of alleviating the sufferings under which they groaned and of avoiding future misfortunes. The firm persuasion of the Jews, resting on the promise of Holy Scripture, that their race would never be suffered to become wholly

extinct or inextricably intermingled with other nations, gave rise to the wonderful phenomenon of the continued separate existence of a people without a country they could call their own, yet united by a spiritual bond that no earthly power could destroy.

In the early times preceding the establishment of schools in Palestine, lecture rooms were erected adjacent to the synagogues or places of congregational worship, and here the people both old and young assembled at stated times, and especially after divine service on the Sabbath and other holidays, to hear lectures and propound questions on religious and moral subjects. The instruction thus given consisted chiefly of an exegetical explanation of a portion of Sacred Writ, to which were appended maxims on morals and legislation, parables, allegories, and illustrations from natural history. The endeavor to form these into something like a system, became in after times a fruitful source of occupation to the rabbies.

As early as the reign of Herod, two rabbinical schools under the superintendence of Hillel and Shamai had acquired considerable celebrity. Hillel, who came from Babylonia, was remarkable for his mild and patient character,\*

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\* The Talmud (Shabbath, fol. 30) relates the following story in exemplification of the admirable patience of Hillel. As two men were discoursing together concerning temper and forbearance, their conversation turned on Hillel. One of them denied that it was possible to provoke him: while the other not only maintained that it was, but offered to bet four hundred gold pieces that he himself would succeed in putting him out of temper. The bet was accepted, and the challenger immediately proceeded to put his provocative arts to the test. It was Sabbath eve, and Hillel was engaged in his preparatory ablutions, when he heard a loud knocking at the gate, and a man breathless with haste demanding to see him immediately. He arose at once, and wrapping his cloak around him, went forth to meet his visiter. "What dost thou wish, my son?" he gently asked. "I wish to put a question to thee," was the answer. "Do so," replied Hillel. "Why have the Babylonians round heads?" "Truly, my son," said Hillel, "thy question is one of some importance. The reason is, that their midwives are unskilful?" The man thanked him, and withdrew. But scarcely had Hillel resumed his immersions, when another knocking was heard, and the voice of one inquiring,

while Shamai was in an equal degree bold and vehement. Both were distinguished for their learning, and each established a doctrinal system of his own, which, although coinciding as regarded general principles with that of his contemporary, frequently differed in practical results. The precepts of Hillel were calculated more especially to enforce obedience to the *spirit* of the law of God, while those of

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"Is Hillel within? is Hillel within?" The venerable man again folded his cloak about him and came forth. "What dost thou wish, my son?" was his query as before. "I desire to ask thee a question," replied the other. "Do so, my son?" said Hillel, "and I will answer thee?" "Tell me, I pray thee, why have the Thermudians round eyes?" "Really my son," replied Hillel, "the question is one of considerable importance. The reason is, that their eyes are much less exposed to injury from the blowing about of the sands among which they live, than if they were of the usual oval form." Again the man departed, and Hillel returned once more to the occupation in which he had now been twice interrupted. He had been however but a short time settled in his bath, when the knocking at the gate was resumed, and the demand, "Is Hillel within?" repeated with still greater urgency than before. Again Hillel enveloped himself in his mantle, and went to receive the clamorous intruder. "What dost thou wish, my son?" he inquired with the same friendly tone as at first. "If thou wilt permit me, I will ask thee a question," was the reply. "Do so, my son, and I will answer it," said Hillel. "Then, prithee, tell me, why have the Africans broad feet?" "This is an important question, my son," said Hillel. "The reason is, they live among bogs and quagmires; and the broader their feet, the less danger they incur of sinking into them." "I have to solicit thy replies to several other questions," said the man; "but perhaps thou wilt be angry at having thy time so taken up." "Not in the least," replied Hillel, folding his mantle closely around him, and seating himself: "whatever thou hast to ask I will hear and endeavor to answer." "Art thou Hillel that is styled the prince of Israel?" said the stranger. "I am," was the reply. "Then," continued the man, "I wish the like of thee may never be found in Israel again, for by thee I have lost four hundred pieces of gold." "In future thou shouldst be more prudent," answered the sage, "Hillel is worthy that such a sum should be lost upon him, but not for twice as much would he lose his temper."

Shamai demanded a close observance of its *letter*. A number of their sayings are recorded in the talmudical book entitled *Pirke Abhoth*. It is related in the Talmud, that Hillel once gave to an inquiring proselyte as the sum and basis of the whole Jewish religion, the single sentence, "Love thy neighbor as thyself." The duty of seeking instruction betimes he was wont to inculcate in the following pithy sentence: *אם אין אני לי מר לי, וכשאני לעצמי מהאני, וראם לא, עכשיו אמתה*, which may be thus paraphrased, "If I do not strive to benefit myself, who else will do it for me? yet if my exertions be directed exclusively to my own advantage, of what use am I to the world? lastly, if I do not now set about the acquisition of knowledge, when can I expect to?" The following were among the maxims of Shamaï: "Make the study of the law the study of thy life; speak little and do much; be kind and obliging to all." This last, however, was not one of the virtues in which he himself particularly excelled.

Hillel is regarded by the rabbies as being next to Ezra the restorer of the law, and is consequently held in great veneration. His disciple and grandson Gamaliel ben Simon superintended the school at Jamnia, shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem. He had for his associates the most distinguished pupils of Jochanan ben Zaccai, viz. Eleazar ben Hurkanus, Joshua ben Chananyah, and Dosa ben Archinas. This, however, did not suffice to the ambition of the descendant of the renowned Hillel, and he soon manifested a desire for spiritual dominion by re-establishing the Sanhedrim, which he composed of seventy of his followers, and by constituting himself its *Nasi* (נָשִׂיא) or President. In both his capacities of Rabbi and *Nasi*, he conducted himself with an arrogance that was intolerable to men who had been accustomed to the mild and paternal rule of R. Jochanan. Joshua, who was celebrated for his wit, was the first to oppose him; and when Gamaliel, in consequence of a scientific dispute between Joshua and himself, summoned him before the tribunal and treated him with great indignity, the other members of the council, disgusted with Gamaliel's tyrannical behavior, immediately deposed him, and elected in his stead the rich and respected, although very young Eleazar ben Azarias; and, what was doubtless no less mortifying to his feelings, they immediately reversed some of his laws in his



presence. This had the effect of inducing him to visit Joshua the following day and request his forgiveness; which act of humility so affected his associates, that they restored him to his office, to be shared with R. Eleazar. Some of these men afterwards established schools in the neighboring towns and villages. Eleazar ben Hurkanus went to Lydda, Akibha to Banibrak, and Joshua to Beküm. The first was celebrated for his cabalistic knowledge, the second for his wit, and the third for his profound erudition.

Under Hadrian these schools were dissolved, and some of the principal teachers cruelly put to death. Among them was R. Akibha the successor of R. Eleazar, who suffered himself to be induced to acknowledge as the Messiah one Simon bar Cozhbha (בר כוזבא son of the star,) called from his imposture Bar Cozibha (בר כוזיבא son of lies,) who placed himself at the head of a rebellion against the Roman government. As one of his adherents, R. Akibha was seized and condemned to death; but before his execution, he designated five of his disciples to be judges and teachers, who afterwards appeared at the head of new schools. To these he bequeathed a complete system of Jewish doctrine accompanied by a written collection of exegeses, which, although possessing no binding authority, were still of service in preventing the rise and growth of false and extravagant opinions. Among the ancient documents of this period still extant, are reckoned the books *Mechilta*, *Siphra*, and *Siphri*, which are cited in the *Talmud*.

Those of the chosen disciples of R. Akibha who afterwards became most highly distinguished were the acute, bold, and learned Meir, the kind, amiable, yet powerful Judah ben Ilai, the thoughtful and severe Simon ben Jochai, and the placid Jose ben Hilephta. They supported themselves chiefly by the labor of their hands. Meir, who, although not of Jewish parentage, was his master's favorite pupil, obtained a livelihood by copying the Scriptures, which he knew by heart. His manner of conveying instruction was easy and familiar, and he gave life and interest to his lectures by his acute remarks and apposite illustrations. Judah, who was a cooper, is highly praised by the rabbies for his love of industry, his moderate style of living notwithstanding his wealth, his resignation under misfortune, and his excellent mode of teaching. The extent of his knowledge in every thing relating to the Jewish religion, as well as

the soundness of his judgment, appear in every page of the Mishnah, which contains over six hundred of his maxims. A commentary on Leviticus is also attributed to him. Simon ben Jochai lived entirely for his studies, which were strongly tinged with mysticism. All his recorded sayings manifest a strong dissatisfaction with the world. Jose the tanner, a man of an entirely opposite character, was remarkable for the urbanity and modesty of his personal demeanor, and the explicitness and good sense of his instructions. "I prefer," said he, "to be a hearer rather than a teacher. I would rather die in the discharge of my duties than on an unhonored bed. I would rather perform too much than too little, would rather collect for the poor than spend for myself, and would rather suffer injustice than practise it." To him is ascribed the historical work *Seder Olam* (סדר עולם history of the world.)

Simon ben Gamaliel, who had fled from Bethar during the rebellion of Simon bar Cochbha, resided for some time in Usha, where as the son of a Nasi he wielded the power of the Sanhedrim. He was a man of great learning, and his legal decisions have nearly all been confirmed. He appears to have been acquainted with Greek, since he praises the version of Aquila, which he prefers to the Chaldee. This version, however, had already received the commendations of Akibha, Joshua, and Eleazar, before whom Aquila read his attempt; and it continued ever afterwards, on account of its closeness to the original, to enjoy among the Jews a higher reputation than the Septuagint. The Jewish teachers, in fact, had now begun to acquire somewhat of a literary spirit, and were no longer averse to committing their knowledge and their views to writing, although as yet they closely adhered to the oral system of instruction.

This short period of tranquillity was unhappily soon broken in upon by the untoward political events that took place under Antonine the successor of Hadrian, the origin of which was as follows. One day a discussion arose in the council as to the relative merits and advantages of Jews and Heathens. Judah spoke in favor of the Romans: he praised their useful institutions, their popular assemblages, their exertions to facilitate intercourse, their canals and bridges, their baths so conducive to the preservation of health, &c. &c. Jose remained silent. Upon this, Simon ben Jochai arose and exclaimed, "What praise do these heathens deserve for their

works of selfishness and sensuality? Their market-places are the rendezvous of profligates; their baths mere appliances of luxury; their bridges enrich the toll-houses, and nourish avarice by furnishing occasion for extortion. We, on the contrary, occupy our minds with the exalted, the divine, the eternal, and disregard the things of time and sense." This unfortunately reached the ears of government, and measures of severity were immediately adopted. Simon was sentenced to death, and Jose banished to his home at Zippor, while Judah received permission to teach wherever he chose. Jose established a new school at Zippor, which was soon in a flourishing condition, and Simon concealed himself in a cave with his son Eleazar until the death of Antonine. It is commonly related that he here completed his Cabbala, although there are no certain proofs of the fact.\*

The Sanhedrim was next established at Tiberias, whither several of the rabbies had removed. Simon ben Gamaliel presided over it with the title of Nasi; by his side sat Nathan as Ab Beth-din (אב בית דין chief justice) and Meir, who had long been travelling, as Hacham (חכם first councillor.) Among the remaining members of the tribunal were Jose and Judah, and frequently also Simon ben Jochai who now resided at Tekoa. The authority of these individuals, held in high regard for their years and wisdom, was decisive. Tiberias, at that time a delightfully situated and flourishing town, was honored with the appellation of Jerusalem and Zion, and its Sanhedrim was called by way of distinction the *grand tribunal*.

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\* The work now extant to which this origin is ascribed is the cabalistic book Zohar (זוהר splendor). It is written in a conversational form, and its subject is the deepest mysticism. As it mentions and even quotes the Talmud, and employs designations, such as Tenaim, Amorim, &c. which did not become common till several centuries later; and as it likewise shows an acquaintance with the siderial science of the Arabs, and even contains what appears to be a notice of the crusades, the book in its present form at least cannot be dated higher than the twelfth century, with which supposition both its language and its spirit coincide. As regards its contents, it is an elaborate symbolization of the laws of the Jewish religion and of the phenomena of nature, clothed in a barbarous and exceedingly obscure style confessedly employed for the purpose of keeping its doctrines from the vulgar.

An innovation of Simon's, who longed to distinguish himself as Nasi, disturbed for a brief interval the harmony that usually prevailed among the members of the Synod. Having learned that in consequence of his arbitrary conduct, two of his associates, Meir and Nathan, had formed the design of humbling him by propounding questions which he should be unable to answer, and thus effecting his deposition, he shamed them by disclosing his knowledge of their plot, and dismissed them from the council. The peaceful Jose, however, who esteemed them both, procured their restoration; and their punishment was commuted into a decree that their maxims should be cited in the schools without their names, and merely prefaced with the expressions, "some say" (רש אֶמְרֵי), "others say" (אֲחֵרִים אֶמְרֵי), which according to the ideas of the times was sufficiently severe. Simon retained his office until he was at length succeeded in it by his son Judah, commonly styled Judah the holy or Judah the Nasi.

Rabbinism had now attained its full development in Palestine. In outward form it consisted of a Sanhedrim in all its parts, of teachers who received their authority from this body, of students in the schools, and lastly of the people. Its doctrines were founded on a minute investigation of the doctrines and laws of Moses, with the view of reducing them to practice as far as existing circumstances would permit. Placed in violent opposition to it was Phariseism, a degenerate kind of Rabbinism clothed in the guise of pretended holiness, but treated with general ridicule and contempt. There were also some remains of Sadduceeism, a sect distinguished by peculiar observances, but now little regarded; and lastly, Samaritanism, whose principal seat was at Naplus, where it had its own tribunal, and decided causes according to the Mosaic law, regardless of rabbinical traditions. Notwithstanding the contempt in which the Samaritans were held by the other sects, they were still considered as good Jews, and enforced their laws among themselves with extreme strictness. Jews and Samaritans did not refuse to inhabit the same house, or even to eat and worship together; but, as the former were accustomed to insert in all contracts made by them the phrase "according to the Mosaic and Jewish law" (כִּדְת מֹשֶׁה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל), and as it was necessary to the validity of a marriage that this should be pronounced at the ceremony of betrothment, matrimonial alliances between them and the Samaritans were entirely out of the question.



Judah the holy, who was born about the time of Akibha's decease, was between fifty and sixty years old when he succeeded his father in the office of Nasi, which he filled until the commencement of the reign of Alexander Severus (about A. D. 240). Meir in the meantime had left Tiberias, a step to which he was probably urged by the treatment he had received from Simon; he died in Asia Minor highly revered. One of his most distinguished pupils whose name was Symmachus was perhaps the same who, having successively embraced heathenism, Christianity, and Judaism, is known to the literary world as the author of a Greek version of the Hebrew Scriptures; Simon ben Jochai and Jose left two sons, Eleazar and Ishmael, who became teachers in their stead. But Judah, or as he was called the Rabbi, was raised far above all his contemporaries, by his exalted station, his learning, his wealth, and his favor with the ruling emperor, who was an Antonine, but whether Caracalla or Heliogabalus does not appear. The personal character of the new Nasi was excellent in every particular: in him were united profound learning and singular modesty; although strict in the discharge of his official duties, he knew how to relax the bonds of discipline on proper occasions; his great wealth was surpassed only by his unbounded beneficence; elevated as was his rank, he was all affability and kindness to his inferiors. By the Jews his memory is held in the profoundest respect; he is regarded by them as a new law-giver, or rather as the ultimate link in the chain of later Jewish legislation. The principal cause of his being so considered is his collection of laws, formed partly of those already existing and partly of his own, called the *Mishnah*. As this was indeed a work which united every good quality that could have been looked for in a composition of that period, viz. completeness, conciseness, perspicuity, and considerable regularity of arrangement, it soon cast into obscurity all former attempts of a similar nature made by private individuals.

The rabbies, who until now had given verbal instruction on the topics which formed the subject of the *Mishnah* were called *Tenaim* (from תִּנְיָאִים, from Chald. תִּנָּא *to learn*; Heb. שִׁנְיָה). R. Judah was a highly distinguished *Tana*; indeed he thought more of his work and his duties as teacher than of his more imposing office as judge. He had a very spacious lecture-room, and near his chair was a small door, through

which he silently came and went. His father had been in the habit of stalking pompously to his seat through ranks of students who rose at his approach; but Judah had no desire to show off the Nasi. At the close of each lecture he was wont to ask the students in turn their opinions on what they had heard, and their objections, if any, and to these he quietly replied; besides this, he publicly taught in the synagogue. In his time the custom was introduced of appointing as assistant to the lecturing rabbi an Amora (אמורא) or speaker, whose office it was to repeat aloud the other's discourse in the vernacular dialect; by this means the Tana was spared the physical exertion of addressing a large assembly, and at the same time was more certain of being comprehended by all. As the principal topics of these lectures were the Mishnical laws and decisions, the work of R. Judah was subjected to a constant scrutiny that caused several deficiencies to be discovered in it even during his lifetime: frequent transcriptions had given rise to a number of various readings, and some ancient writings were found that had not been previously consulted, and which disagreed with it on some points, as did also several of the later rabbies. Two works were shortly after composed to remedy these faults, called the Bareitha (בריתא) or maxims delivered out of the high school, and the Tosephta (תוספתא) or additions to the Mishnah.

The Mishnah now became the rallying point of Judaism. The existence of an oral law, the bare idea of which was not suggested till after the time of the Asmonean princes, was no longer problematical. The rabbies fondly cherished the belief that with the Mishnah they had regained possession of the true doctrines of Moses, and consequently directed all their endeavors towards its completion and elucidation. This circumstance tends to render the Mishnah a highly interesting object of study, since it thus enables us to become acquainted with the whole circle of ideas of the most intelligent men among the Jews in that remote age: in it they discuss the natural history of almost every animal then known; they mention a great number of field and garden plants and fruits, and describe the uses to be made of them, as well as of a multitude of utensils, instruments, and productions of art. These discussions are made without in any degree neglecting the graver questions of civil economy and other matters of like importance; so that a careful examin-

ation of this work would scarcely fail to be rewarded by the solution of many interesting problems in the archaiology of that period.

Embracing such an extensive range of topics, it is not surprising that the Mishnah in the then scarcity of literary productions became the sole text-book of the schools. It was in fact regarded as the storehouse of all positive knowledge ; and that scientific instruction which in former times had been given in connection with the Bible, was now with greater propriety attached to the Mishnah. Consequently the investigation of the reasons on which the decisions of the Mishnah are founded, which afforded a large field for the exercise of their spirit of subtle inquiry, became the favorite study of the rabbies. The ardor with which they gave themselves up to this pursuit soon grew upon them to such a degree that it engrossed their exclusive attention : they resigned the practice of the agricultural and mechanical arts which they had heretofore pursued, and were supported in their learned ease by regular salaries or contributions of the people, who, on account of their profession and their secluded mode of living, looked up to them with a respect bordering on veneration. The usual tendency to the abuse of power displayed by those who are placed in situations of authority over their fellow-men, soon became visible in their despotic treatment and noble contempt of the common people, who by the necessity of attending to their daily occupations were precluded from the opportunity of becoming as learned as themselves.

Upon the death of Judah, which took place at Zippor, whither he had retired for the benefit of the pure air of that hilly region, his second son Gamaliel, in compliance with his last will, succeeded him in the dignity of Nasi. Gamaliel's chief counsellors were his elder brother Simon, who received the title of Hacham, and one Chanina ben Chama. These three men, although not deficient in learning, found many to oppose their elevation to these high offices. The first possessed no qualities that could render him worthy of distinction ; of the second but little is known ; and the third, although he had acquired considerable reputation as a scholar and physician, was chiefly actuated in his conduct by vain and ambitious motives. These circumstances caused many of the scholars formed under the instructions of R. Judah to emigrate to Babylonia, and there establish new

schools, which in a short time rivalled those of Palestine in celebrity. The already diminished power of the head men of Tiberias could not long prevent their overgrown schools from branching off into smaller ones ; and at length Zippor and Cesarea began to strive with Tiberias itself for the supremacy, which the latter only retained by continuing to be the abode of the Nasi and consequently the seat of the grand tribunal. The most distinguished individuals of the time were Chanina at Tiberias and Hosea at Cesarea, who are said to have put the finishing hand to the Mishnah as it now exists.

The office of Nasi, which it will be perceived had become hereditary, passed from Gamaliel into the hands of his son Judah. It now retained its secular character alone, and was consequently no longer an object of jealousy to the rabbies, who on their part would not suffer themselves to be controlled by the Nasi. They freely gave their advice and directions to the new ruler, who was young and inexperienced at the time of attaining his dignity, and whose power rested solely on his birth, wealth, and elevated position. In the court he was merely presiding judge ; the task of examining causes and reporting the results was resigned to his rabbies, whose salaries he paid out of the fees which he himself collected. This last procedure was a source of great dissatisfaction to them, and at length one Jose of Maon took it upon himself to denounce it as an instance of tyrannical oppression. The Nasi cited him before the court for his bold language, and he fled ; but on having his safety guaranteed by two men of standing, Jochanan and Simon ben Lakes, he consented to appear before Judah. The latter, after having put a few questions to him, and received some very laconic and rude answers, dismissed him, without assigning any punishment to his offence. So much were circumstances altered since the time of his powerful grandfather.

The two men Jochanan and Simon ben Lakes above mentioned were intimate friends and strenuous opposers of the Nasi's power. Simon, who in his youth had served as a soldier, and who brought to the employment of teacher all the daring of his former vocation, publicly declared that the Nasi ought to be subjected to *corporal punishment* for misconduct, like other offenders. The enraged Judah determined to revenge himself on the author of this insult to his dignity. But the day after his bold speech, Simon did not



make his customary appearance in the assembly ; and the Nasi accordingly inquired of his friend Jochanan, who sat silent and sorrowful in his place, the reason of Simon's absence. He replied by requesting the Nasi to accompany him on a visit to Simon, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation. Simon received the Nasi with every outward demonstration of respect, but at the same time stoutly expressed his determination to speak his mind on all occasions with perfect freedom. And in truth whenever he felt himself called upon to denounce abuses, he was by no means backward in keeping his promise : thus he publicly censured the Nasi on his accepting a box of gold as a present from a heathen, and again when he appointed an ignorant man to the office of public instructor. On the latter occasion, Judah ben Nachman, whose duty it was to interpret his lectures to the people, openly denounced the transaction before the whole congregation. The Nasi was unable to retaliate, as his power was now by no means equal to the influence acquired by the rabbies.

Jochanan and Simon ben Lakos both enjoyed an enviable reputation. The former was universally admired for his fine personal appearance, his extraordinary learning, and the power imputed to him of working miracles. It appears that he survived his friend, and obtained the dignity of Hacham in the tribunal. As the Nasi was entirely destitute of energy, he remained almost the only authority in matters of rabbinical law. He was a great stickler for forms, and on the occasion of installing two of his most deserving disciples, Ami and Assi, into the responsible office of judge, he gave way completely to his fondness for parade and ceremony. He was notwithstanding a strict rabbinist, and lived in as secluded a manner as Jochanan ben Zaccai, whom he took for his model, and whose stern maxims of morality were continually on his lips. His severity and bitterness were chiefly directed against the corrupted manners of the times, against extravagance and luxury, and against the worldly-mindedness of the Babylonians which was daily gaining ground in Palestine. The school at Cesarea had already attained some degree of celebrity, and was now under the direction of R. Abhuhu, a man much respected by the Roman authorities.

About this time the *Jerusalem Talmud* was composed, the authorship of which is attributed by Maimonides to Jocha-

nan. The correctness of this statement however is denied by Jost,\* who affirms that its author's name is unknown. It is composed, as we have already observed, of the Mishnah itself and all that had been adduced in its illustration since the time of its composition. The publication of this work, by facilitating the acquisition of knowledge, and rendering the congregations less dependent on their teachers, may have contributed with other causes to hasten the decline of the school of Tiberias, which maintained its pre-eminence only about half a century longer. The wars with which the eastern world now became convulsed, especially that between the Romans and Persians, broke up the communication between different parts of the country, and made it necessary that each convocation should have a small school of its own. Ami and Assi, who were the last men of note among the rabbies of Palestine, appear to have flourished about the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era.

#### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE RABBINICAL SCHOOLS IN BABYLONIA, DOWN TO THE COMPILATION OF THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

The Babylonian Jews, as they uniformly style themselves in their writings, were those who dwelt on both banks of the Euphrates, and in the country included between that river and the Tigris, since called the Arabian Irak. They gave themselves also, in contradistinction to the Palestine or Occidental Jews (בְּנֵי מִצְרָא) the name of Orientals (בְּנֵי מִזְרָא) or Exiles (בְּנֵי גֵלָה). They at first formed a small colony subject to the Parthians, which was afterwards considerably increased in numbers by the accession of those who fled from Palestine during the persecution under Trajan and Hadrian. Living in great measure among strangers, and being not so strictly bred up as their brethren in Palestine, they were before the introduction of rabbinism, and indeed for a considerable period after, much less decidedly separated from the other nations of the East. They did not keep themselves entirely apart from their neighbors by peculiarities either of dress or of food, and even intermarriages with them were not wholly forbidden. There was naught in fact

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\* Allg. Geschichte d. Israel. Volkes, vol. 2, p. 143.

but those strong barriers to amalgamation which in the East are presented by differences of race, together with some of the observances inherited from their forefathers, particularly the worship of the true God, to constitute them a separate people.

They had a ruler elected by themselves, called the *Resh Glutha* (רֶאֶשׁ גְּלוּתָא,) or chief of the emigrants, whose office was exclusively secular, the appeal in religious matters being constantly made to Palestine. The standard of learning among the Babylonians was for a long time extremely low, their teachers consisting of wanderers from Palestine or of such native scholars as had prosecuted their studies in that country. The school of Tiberias employed every practicable means to maintain its supremacy undisturbed. It threw great difficulties in the way of the emigration of its able men to Babylonia, by subjecting to a severe examination such as sought to establish themselves in that country, and by seldom granting them unrestricted authority, which even if conceded was liable at any time to be recalled. It also endeavored to retain in Palestine and furnish employment there to all the most promising among their Babylonian pupils. The feelings of dissatisfaction created among the colonists by such a course of policy were further aggravated, and the ties connecting them to the mother country proportionably weakened, by the large amount of tribute exacted from them, and the dangers and inconveniences resulting; especially in time of war, from the constant journeyings to and fro required for the purpose of keeping up the communication which their dependent condition rendered necessary. This state of things, however, was suffered to exist only so long as there was a dearth of competent teachers in Babylonia. When once firmly established, the schools at Nisibis, Nahardea, and Naharpakod were soon able to furnish rabbies in sufficient numbers to render practicable the assertion of an independence so long and earnestly desired by both prince and people, and for which the publication and spread of the Mishnah had already prepared the way.

The Resh Glutha, in imitation of the Nasi of Tiberias, instituted a high court of justice, and placed himself at its head. The first of these rulers of whom any notice has descended to us was Hona, a contemporary of Judah the holy. His power was despotic, and his office appears to have already become hereditary. The authority of his tribunal

was recognized even by the Jews of Palestine ; but in denying it the right of enforcing obedience to its decrees, they deprived it of all real influence.

At the period when Ardshir founded the kingdom of modern Persia (A. D, 230), the Jews were in a prosperous condition. Their numbers were considerable ; and besides being in the exclusive possession of many small towns, they formed a good part of the population of the principal cities, as Ctesiphon, Borsippon, Seleucia, the newly built Ardshir, and others. Several Babylonians were now pursuing their studies at Tiberias under Rabbi Judah, among whom were Haya and his nephew Abba Aricha. The latter returned to his native land with full authority, and went to Nehardea, whither Samuel Arioeh, a learned physician and astronomer who had been unable to establish himself at Tiberias, had already preceded him, and was now teaching very successfully, with the knowledge and approval of Hona's successor, Mar Ukba. Abba, however, notwithstanding the friendly reception he experienced from Samuel, did not choose to remain at Nehardea ; but proceeded to Sura, (called also Mata Mehasia), where he opened a new school, which in the number of its pupils soon excelled every other. The study of the law was the sole object pursued, and the novelty of many of the precepts contained in the Mishnah, which was first brought into Babylonia by Arioeh, created universal interest. Samuel showed himself by no means favorably disposed towards the new institution, and the two schools became zealous rivals of each other's fame and popularity, and frequently disagreed in their decisions. The Resh Glutha acknowledged both, and formed of them two co-ordinate courts. Samuel appears to have taken upon himself more especially the decision of ethical questions, while Rabh\* attended chiefly to matters of domestic policy. Both schools, notwithstanding their wide difference of opinion on many other points, were agreed in regarding their authority as tantamount to that of the Nasi of Tiberias, and in determining to shake off the spiritual yoke of Palestine ; they even went so far as to forbid all intercourse with its schools, so that those who desired to visit them were compelled to do so by stealth.

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\*This title, equivalent to the *Rabbi* of Palestine, was bestowed *par excellence* upon Abba, as was that of Rabbi upon Judah the holy.



On the death of Abba (A. D. 280), whose loss was deeply lamented by those for whom his talents, learning, and industry had done so much, the school of Sura lost for a while the high standing it had assumed, and its members joined that of Nehardea, which once more became the central point of all Babylonia. Samuel was succeeded by Nachman ben Isaac, a man of learning and wealth, who sustained the dignity of his station with a great deal of splendor. He was related to the Nasi of Tiberias, lived on terms of intimacy with the Resh Glutha Ukba and his successor Nehemia, and was universally honored for his strict integrity. Meanwhile another Hona revived the school of Sura, and with such success as to enable it to maintain and instruct eight hundred students free of expense. The struggle for pre-eminence which had animated their predecessors, was continued by Nachman and Hona ; but the former usually took precedence in deciding on matters of learning, and the latter on those of right and wrong. This rivalry was on the whole advantageous to the community, as they were animated by a spirit of emulation rather than of mutual hostility.

While affairs were proceeding in this train, Judah ben Ezekiel, who had been a favorite pupil of Abba, and afterwards of Samuel, founded a new school in Pumbeditha, a town situate on the left bank of the lower Euphrates. He was a zealous rabbi, and strong in his opposition to the political power of the Resh Glutha, with whom and his friend Nachman he had several disputes. His quarrels with the latter appear to have originated chiefly in the common reproach made against the inhabitants of Pumbeditha on the score of their lax morality, a reproach which Judah could not patiently bear to hear repeated. It redounds to the high honor of the rabbies, that they were as a body extremely attentive to the welfare of the people in this respect. A memorable example of firmness is recorded of Judah himself, who excommunicated an otherwise respectable rabbi for immoral conduct, and would not suffer himself to be prevailed on by any arguments to reverse the sentence. Application was made to the rabbies of Babylonia, and even to the Nasi of Tiberias, but in vain ; his suit was rejected, and he died under the ban. Indeed, the entire history of the proceedings of the Babylonian schools, shows their conductors in the light of thoroughly practical men, caring little for mere speculative theories, however profound or original, but actuat-

ed by a sincere desire for the due administration of justice and the preservation of morality among the people.

The three principal schools in Babylonia, those of Nehardea, Sura, and Pumbeditha, although conducted by rabbies appointed by the Resh Glutha, long continued to enjoy a considerable degree of independence. Each had a council of its own, which elected the president of the institution for life, reserving however the right to remove him in case of gross official misconduct. Their freedom from all restraint but what they chose to impose upon themselves had the effect of gradually undermining the power of the Resh Glutha, until the influence of the rabbies with their congregations became almost unbounded. In Pumbeditha, where Judah taught with great success, two of his disciples, Rabbah and Joseph, achieved a brilliant reputation. The first, a man of extraordinary powers of mind, inspired his hearers with such enthusiasm in the cause of learning, that all the youth came twice in the year from Persia, in the spring a short time before the passover, and in the autumn before the feast of tabernacles, for the purpose of attending for at least a few weeks his public lectures. The Resh Glutha felt himself aggrieved by the irregularity in the payment of taxes which arose from these proceedings, and made his complaint accordingly to Shapoor II. Rabbah was prosecuted in consequence, and obliged to flee the country. After remaining for some time abroad, he secretly returned; but being discovered, and subjected to a new prosecution, he ended his life by throwing himself down from a tree. He was succeeded by Joseph the blind, a man of greater learning than ability, who adhered to the old exegetical mode of instruction. A Chaldee paraphrase of the Scriptures has been erroneously attributed to him. His successors, Raba and Abaye, were men of considerable note. Contemporary with these directors of the school of Pumbeditha were Harda and his successor Rabbah ben Bar Hana in Sura, the latter of whom was famous for conveying his instructions in figurative language and allegories, which to the present time have found more to jest upon than to interpret them. The operations of the school at Nehardea were for a long time much interrupted by the wars that ensued.

The doctrinal and judicial decrees of these celebrated men, although constituting their chief claim to distinction, were of less real importance to the welfare of the com-

munity, than their views and proceedings with respect to the education of youth. As early as the time of Abba, their exertions were especially directed to promoting and superintending the instruction of children in the Holy Scriptures. The teachers were enjoined to observe kindness of demeanor towards their pupils, and to govern them rather by exciting a spirit of emulation than by corporal punishment. It was decreed by Rabba that each congregation should found an elementary school, and that for any number of pupils between twenty-five and fifty, the head teacher should be furnished with an assistant. New schools were continually springing up, and the rivalry between them and those already in existence was extremely ardent: hence teachers who exhibited a lack of industry, or treated with undue severity the children placed under their care, were dismissed forthwith. In these schools the Chaldee dialect of the Hebrew alone was taught. The Jews in general were unacquainted with any other character than that in which it was written; and consequently all public notifications and inscriptions made by the Persian authorities which in any way concerned them, were repeated in Hebrew letters.

During the interval of peace so favorable to the progress of literature and education, the school of Sura regained its former eminence under the charge of Nachman ben Isaac, and finally excelled all others under the celebrated Ashe, who for sixty years (between 365 and 425) wielded the chief authority entirely independent of the Resh Glutha. The great undertaking which rendered famous the name of this latter rabbi, was the compilation of the Babylonian Talmud. In his time the text of the Mishnah had become deformed by a multitude of various readings, and the comments and annotations upon its several parts had grown into an immense and confused mass. The first, or Jerusalem Talmud, was not adapted to meet the wants either of the age or country: for the schools of Babylonia had decided on many points differently from those of Palestine. R. Ashe therefore determined on restoring simplicity and unity to the rabbinical law by the compilation of a Talmud complete in every respect. To accomplish this he began by accumulating and arranging materials for each division separately, in performing which he received considerable assistance from the students of his school. His first step was, aided by ten of his pupils, to bring together all the decisions that



had been made relative to the subjects contained in a single division of the Mishnah; these he communicated in his spring lectures to the whole school, and charged its members to busy themselves until the meeting in the ensuing autumn with examining into all that had been delivered relative thereto in the various schools. The data thus produced he afterwards subjected to a strict revision, and amalgamated into something like a uniform whole. This he continued to do for thirty successive years, until he had gone completely through the Talmud; an equal space of time was consumed in the task of revision and correction. His friend and disciple, R. Abhina, afforded him essential assistance in the prosecution of his undertaking, and to these two the authorship of the Babylonian Talmud is usually ascribed. We will conclude the present article with a view of the contents of this work which has exerted so powerful an influence on the subsequent character and conduct of the Jewish people.

#### CONTENTS OF THE BABYLONIAN TALMUD.

The Mishnah was divided by R. Judah into six *parts* or *orders* (סְדָרִים), and these form the ground-work of the divisions of the whole Talmud, which is usually comprised in twelve large folio volumes.

I. The first part is entitled *Zeraim* (זְרָעִים of *seeds*), and treats of agriculture and the laws relating to it.

II. The second is called *Moed* (מוֹעֵד of *festivals*), and treats of the observance of the Sabbath and other holidays.

III. The third is called *Nashim* (נָשִׁים of *women*), and treats of the ceremonies of marriage and divorce, and of other matters relative to the intercourse between the sexes.

IV. The fourth is called *Nezikin* (נִזְקִין of *damages*), and treats of the laws regulating the conduct of men in civilized communities, and of the punishment due to their infraction.

V. The fifth is called *Kodashim* (קֹדָשִׁים of *things holy*), and treats of offerings.

VI. The sixth is called *Tahoroth* (טָהוֹרוֹת of *purifications*), and treats of the mode in which persons and things become



unclean, and of the ceremonies to be observed in their purification.

The reasons for this order, as laid down by Maimonides in his preface to the Talmud, are as follows. The work commences with the laws respecting agriculture, because on this depends the very existence of man, who without food would not be able to serve the Lord. These are succeeded by the laws relative to festivals, because that is the order observed in the Bible (Lev. 25 : 3, 6). For the same reason the part which treats of the rights of women is made to precede the laws concerning damages (see Ex. 21 : 7, 12). The four first Sedarim are thus made to include those subjects which are chiefly treated of in the book of Exodus, and the remaining two are occupied with the matter discussed in Leviticus.

The six parts of the Mishnah are each divided into *treatises* or *books* (מִסְכָּתוֹת), these again into *chapters* (פְּרָקִים), and the latter into single *decisions* (הִלְכוֹת). The contents of the several treatises belonging to each book are as follows.

I. ZERAIM, of seeds, contains the following treatises : 1. *Berachoth* (בְּרָכוֹת blessings). Herein is prescribed the manner of praying and of rendering thanks to the Lord for benefits of every description ; and because nothing should be enjoyed without a previous expression of gratitude to the Giver, this treatise is placed at the head of all the rest. 2. *Peah* (פֵּאָה corner). This is the first of the agricultural laws, and enjoins the duty of leaving a "corner" of the field for the benefit of the poor (Lev. 19 : 9). 3. *Demai* (דְּמַאי doubtful things), concerning those things with regard to which a doubt exists as to whether or not they should pay tithes. 4. *Kilaim* (כִּלְאִים heterogeneous things), containing precepts against commingling things of different kinds (see Lev. 19 : 19). 5. *Shebhuith* (שְׁבִיעִית seventh), on the septennial agrarian rest. 6. *Trumoth* (תרומות oblations), indicating those things of which a portion should be set part for oblations, and the persons who are to perform this duty. 7. *Maaseroth* (מַעֲסֵרוֹת tithes) ; this treatise discusses the subject of tithes in general. 8. *Maaser Sheni* (מַעֲסֵר שֵׁנִי secondary tithe), on the tithes of the tithes collected by the Levites, and given by them to the priests. 9. *Hallah* (חֲלָה cake), concerning the cake to be made of the first dough (Num. 15 : 21). 10. *Orlah* (עֵרְלָה præputium), on the interdict against using the fruits of trees for the three first

years. 11. *Biccurim* (בכורים first fruits), concerning those things of which the first fruits should be offered in the temple, and the manner of so doing. These eleven treatises, which are divided into seventy-five chapters, complete the first part.

II. *MOED*, of festivals, contains, 1. *Shabbath* (שבת sabbath); this treatise on sabbath-keeping is placed first, both because this is the most frequently recurring of all holidays and is the earliest mentioned in the Bible. 2. *Erubhim* (ערובים mixtures), on various rites and duties belonging to the proper observance of the sabbath. 3. *Pesachim* (פסחים passovers), on preparing for and celebrating the passover. 4. *Shekalim* (שקלים shekels), on the half shekel ordained to be given by every one as a ransom for his soul (Ex. 30 : 12, et. seqq.) 5. *Yoma* (יומא the day), on the day of atonement. 6. *Succoth* (סוכות tabernacles), on the feast of tabernacles, describing the mode of constructing the booths and living in them. 7. *Betsah* (ביצה egg), on the feast of pentecost. The treatise receives its name from its initial word. 8. *Rosh Hashshanah* (ראש השנה the new year), on the rites and ceremonies attending the celebration of the new year. 9. *Taanioth* (תעניות fasts), on the various fasts instituted by the prophets. 10. *Megillah* (מגילה roll), on the feast of Purim or lots. The treatise is so called from the "roll" of Esther appointed to be read on the occasion. 11. *Moed Katon* (מועד קטן minor festival), on the manner of keeping the intermediate days between the first and eighth in the feasts of the passover and of tabernacles, which are considered as a kind of minor festival, or half-holiday. 12. *Hagiga* (הגיהה festivity), on the solemnities to be observed in the ascent to Jerusalem on the three principal festivals (Ex. 23 : 17). The twelve treatises composing the second part are divided into eighty-eight chapters.

III. *NASHIM*, of women, contains, 1. *Yebhamoth* (יבמות brothers-in-law), on a man's duty towards his brother's widow and orphan children. As matrimonial contracts of this description are compulsory while all others are voluntary, the laws enforcing them are placed first in order. 2. *Kethubhoth* (כתובות contracts), on dowers and marriage settlements, and the duties and privileges of husband and wife. 3. *Kiddushin* (קדושין espousals), on the mode of conducting espousals, and of deciding various matrimonial cases. 4. *Gittin* (גטין divorces), on the mode of drawing up and

presenting bills of divorce. 5. *Nedarim* (נדרים vows), concerning what vows are to be held obligatory and what not, as also the right of a husband to annul certain vows of his wife. 6. *Nazir* (נזיר Nazarite), on Nazarites and the vows of such as separate themselves from the world. This treatise is placed immediately after the preceding as it relates to a branch of vows which, when made by a wife, the husband has the power to annul. 7. *Sotah* (סוטה suspected one), on the proceedings to be adopted for the purpose of confirming or removing suspicions of a wife's fidelity, according to Num. 5: 12. et seqq. The seven treatises of the third part are divided into seventy-one chapters.

IV. NEZIKIN, of damages, contains, 1. *Babha Kama* (בבא קמא the first gate), laws concerning damages received from animals or persons by way of trespass, assault, &c. This treatise commences the series because the matters it discusses are those most frequently brought before justices of the peace, and therefore require especial study and attention. 2. *Babha Metsia* (בבא מציעא the middle gate), laws concerning claims arising from trusts, such as usury, gratuitous loans, hire, &c. 3. *Babha Bathra* (בבא בתרא the last gate), laws concerning partnership in business, succession and inheritance, purchase and sale, &c. &c. 4. *Sanhedrin* (סנהדרין grand council); having finished laying down the laws which the complicated interests and numerous sources of dissension existing in a civilized community render necessary, the compiler devotes the present treatise to a consideration of every thing relating to the administration of justice, such as the courts civil and criminal, the judges, witnesses, and punishments. 5. *Maccoth* (מכות stripes), or the punishment of scourging for minor offences, agreeably to Deut. 25: 3. 6. *Shebhuoth* (שבועות oaths), as to what persons are competent to take judicial oaths, and the ceremonies to be observed in so doing. 7. *Edioth* (עדיות witnesses), on competence to bear witness in a court of justice, and how this should be done. 8. *Horioth* (הוריות decisions), on the mode of pronouncing sentence, and other matters relative to judges and their functions. 9. *Abhodah Zarah* (עבודה זרה idolatry), against idolatry and intercourse with idolaters. 10. *Abhoth* (אבות fathers), containing the maxims of the elder rabbies, who from the time of Moses successively received, taught, and transmitted the oral law, and are hence termed "fathers of the law." The fourth part is divided into seventy-four chapters.



V. **KODASHIM**, of things holy, contains, 1. *Zebhachim* (זבחים sacrifices), on the manner, time, and place, of offering sacrifices. 2. *Hulin* (חולין profane things), on clean and unclean animals. 3. *Menahoth* (מנחות meat-offerings), on the offerings of flour so called Lev. 2: 1, et seqq. 4. *Bechoroth* (בכורות first-born), on the manner of offering or redeeming with money the first-born of animals. 5. *Erachin* (ערכין valuations), on the valuation of things consecrated by vow. 6. *Temurah* (תמורה commutation), on commuting for things devoted to sacrifice. 7. *Meilah* (מעילה desecration), concerning things which after being consecrated have become desecrated. 8. *Kerithuth* (כרתות excision), on the excommunication or "cutting off" of souls from among the people. The treatise on this subject is inserted here, because if sins punishable in this way be committed accidentally or unwittingly, they may be expiated by a sin-offering. 9. *Tamid* (תמיד continuance), on the perpetual or daily morning and evening offering in the temple (Num. 28: 3. et seqq.). 10. *Middoth* (מדות measurement), on the construction and dimensions of the temple. As the design of this and the preceding treatise is merely to preserve the remembrance of the things they describe, which belonged exclusively to Jerusalem in its former days, there is no Gemara affixed to them. 11. *Kinnim* (קנים nests), on offerings of young birds taken from the nest made by the poor. The fifth part is divided into ninety chapters.

VI. **TAHOROTH**, of purifications, contains, 1. *Kelim* (כלים utensils), which shows what utensils and vessels may become unclean, and what not; as also their manner of becoming so. 2. *Oholoth* (אהלות tents), on the various ways in which tents or houses become unclean, and the mode of purifying them. 3. *Negaim* (נגעים infectious diseases), on impurity resulting from contagion. 4. *Parah* (פרה heifer), on cleansing from the impurity contracted from a corpse by means of the ashes of a red heifer (Num. 19). 5. *Tahoroth* (טהרות purifications), on purifying from uncleanness arising from other sources. 6. *Mikvaoth* (מקואות reservoirs), on the receptacles for water in which ablutions were performed. 7. *Nidlah* (נדה uncleanness), on the purification of women after their monthly courses and after child-birth; the only treatise in this part accompanied by the Gemara. 8. *Machshirin* (מכשירין purifications), on the purifications of edible fruits on which liquids have fallen, and thus either rendered



unclean or disposed to become so (Lev. 11 : 38). 9. *Zabhim* (זבירים emissions), on purification from uncleanness arising from the causes described Lev. 15 : 2, 16. 10. *Tebhul Yom* (טבול יום diurnal ablution), on purification by ablution on the same day. *Yadaim* (ידיים hands), on cleanliness of the hands. 12. *Oketsin* (עוקצין fruit-stalks), on the manner in which fruits become unclean by the contact of their stalks with those of other fruits. The number of chapters in the sixth and last part of the Talmud is one hundred and twenty-six.

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## ARTICLE II.

### RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY.

By Rev. Royal Robbins, Berlin, Conn.

It is one of the lessons taught us by all past experience, that human opinions are not apt to harmonize entirely, on any subject. In politics, literature, philosophy, and even the common affairs and interests of life, we, every day, meet with the most opposite views and sentiments. Few principles, in these departments of inquiry, appear to be so well settled as to preclude all debate. On the subject of religion particularly, it has happened that the opinions of mankind have been most diverse and contradictory. Here contention has been long and fiercely maintained, although, at first thought, every one must pronounce it to be a state of things very much to be lamented. On topics over which revelation has shed its clear light, one would suppose that there needs to be no serious dispute ; and can we be mistaken in saying that there ought not to be any ?

The cessation of controversy is certainly desirable in itself, through the submission of every mind to truth and right. Much of it has arisen, indeed, from the limited range of the human understanding, from the imperfections of language,

and from the prejudices of education ; but probably the far greater part has been produced by the influence of depravity. To the source last named, it is too true that we can trace a large proportion of religious controversy, properly so called, or those debates in which the doctrines and duties of religion have been involved. The existence of contention here, and such contention as has prevailed, shows any thing rather than the prevalence of right feelings, in the mass of minds with which Christianity has come in contact. It is an indication of the imperfect, defective influence which the great truths of religion, so decisively taught in the Bible, have exerted over the human mind.

In this representation, we are aware that every one, probably, would not acquiesce ; since some seem to suppose that in the present state of things, controversy of this kind is not only necessary for the suppression of error, (which will be allowed in some sense,) but that it may be positively encouraged to a given extent. We believe, however, that such an opinion is an incorrect one ; and that strife in regard to these sacred topics, should be avoided wherever it possibly can be, and even at a large sacrifice of personal gratification.

These remarks lead us to the construction, which may be properly put upon certain precepts and examples of Scripture, touching the affair of religious debate, and in which a certain species of collision is spoken of. We read in one place the exhortation, "that ye should *contend* earnestly for the faith once delivered unto the saints : " in another place, "that ye stand fast in one spirit, with one mind *striving* together for the faith of the Gospel." Paul also tells the Thessalonians, that he and his fellow-laborers "were bold in our God to speak unto you the Gospel of God, with much *contention*." His example on this point we further learn, as recorded in the Acts, where, in one instance, he "*confounded* the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the very Christ : " and in another instance, while he waited at Athens, "he *disputed* in the synagogue with the Jews and with the devout persons, and in the market daily with them that met with him." These and perhaps other intimations of the New Testament, whether by precept, comment, or example, may have reference solely to apostolic times—to the peculiarity of the introduction of a new religion in the world. In this case, the wrong opinions, prejudices and habits, which had been cherished for ages, might be combatted directly, if

the simple exhibition of the truth would not be sufficient to effect a moral change. To contention on the subject of religion, in that form and under those circumstances, the injunctions and practice of Paul, or of other New Testament writers, may be supposed to give countenance. But it requires more than the bare existence of such scriptural intimations, in the connection in which they are found to authorize the conclusion, that they were to be a permanent mode of diffusing and maintaining the principles of Christianity in the world. We know not how this view of the subject, as founded on occasional notices of the scriptures, can be substantiated, when so much appears in the Bible inculcating an opposite sentiment—urging the duty of peace and concord; describing the pleasantness of brethren dwelling together in unity; requiring the servants of the Lord not to strive, but to be gentle unto all men, apt to teach; and commanding the brethren to be of one mind and to live in peace.

The propriety of controversy of the kind intended in the Bible may be limited, then, to the original of Christianity—to the peculiar circumstances attending the introduction of a new religion into the world, when that religion met with influences more hostile perhaps, than have since existed—the deep-rooted bigotry of the Jews on the one hand, and on the other the proud philosophy of Gentiles who were in the zenith of their fame. Or if cases analagous to the above have occurred, in the subsequent history of the Gospel, when it has been sent into heathen countries, *there* likewise the controversy which consists in attacking ancient superstitions that are defended by their patrons, may be justified by the precepts and examples of Scripture. This is actually done by our missionaries in heathen countries, who directly impugn the tenets and worship of idolaters; they abstain from this course, however, when the missionary purpose is only to reform corrupted christian churches. Among the latter, they aim rather to establish the truth by fair exposition, than in the way of an open attack of errors. Thus also the onset which infidelity makes on the Gospel, in the heart of a Christian community may be met by a corresponding attitude on the part of the Christian disciple. It may be the design of Scripture, that both the offensive and defensive weapons of argument should be taken up in this case; although, as we may soon attempt to show, this may not always be the best mode of convincing even infidels. It may appear after all, that other modes



of setting forth the truth, are generally preferable and more promising. There is much in the remark which we have somewhere read or heard, viz: if you wish to convince an infidel, give him the Bible to read. Possibly, moreover, the Scriptures may contemplate that sort of controversy which we have with impenitent sinners, if controversy it may be called, that consists in repelling by argument the objections which they make to the demands of God upon them, or in attacking their cherished and defended lusts and prejudices. The Bible may intend, in what it says concerning contention in behalf of the truth, nothing more than the above and similar occasions for the employment of this species of spiritual warfare. That it recommends and encourages what is more commonly understood by religious controversy, and what are the most frequent instances of it—debates and disputation among Christians themselves, or the body of professed Christians, among religious men who are essentially agreed in doctrine, and differ only in modes of explanation, or on topics of secondary importance, is, we apprehend, difficult of proof. Let the discrepancy of views among them be considerable, even let it be all but vital in some instances, controversy may not be the best mode of exposing the error, or impressing the truth. Especially is it far from being an eligible mode, when the differences of sentiment are so generally unimportant, or in regard to which the evil of contention is greater than the danger of error.

It may be doubted, then whether even the field of debate which has been occupied by Christian combatants generally, is a legitimate one, according to the intention of Scripture. But if this were admitted, and we are at liberty to suppose that Christians may lawfully dispute and contend among themselves in regard to the specific, minute topics of divine revelation; yet who can say that it is any more than *suffered*, as being a choice of evils. It might occur that the failure of some particular truth may be a greater calamity than that of contention respecting it. In that case, contention might be tolerated notwithstanding its general bad effects, because, amidst the certainty of evils, it is always wise to choose the least. This we are inclined to believe is all that the Scripture teaches, or the reason of the thing requires, in regard to religious disputation. It is not a service in which we should love to volunteer. If ever a duty, it is a painful duty and to be reluctantly undertaken. There



needs to be no encouragement held out for Christians to engage in it. Their imperfect sanctification is itself a sufficient stimulus. The efforts of the church are rather required to discourage it. Much both of the subject matter, and of the spirit of controversy in religion at the present day, deserves to be frowned upon. As a general thing it is inexpedient, and certainly ought never to be promoted by purposely furnishing, or eagerly embracing occasions for it. We will now give some reasons in detail in support of the opinion here advanced.

1. From the natural disposition of mankind, as well as from fact, we find that controversy most abounds, and with most of its bitterness, just where there should be the least of both. On points where the difference of opinion is the smallest, the fiercest debate usually ensues. Where Christian brethren ought to coalesce and become one, because so little divides them, they are apt to become the most alienated in feeling. The cause of this result lies in the principles of our nature—in the structure of our minds. It offends our reason, or opposes our sense of consistency, that others can come very near the truth as we view it, and yet reject it—that from obstinacy or other bad motive, they will not assume the slight humiliation of agreeing with us, when, perhaps, they can differ only the merest trifle. We are provoked at their unreasonableness, and our opponents are impatient with us in return, and long and angry argumentation or denunciation is entered upon on both sides. It happens that many of the points of difference among the several evangelical denominations of Christians, those we mean which divide them, are of small importance in themselves; and of still less moment are the shades of variance among the members of the same denomination, or people who hold the same great distinctive principles. They neither augment nor diminish the evidence of Christian character. And yet the speculatists of these different schools will maintain their different opinions as strenuously, as if the salvation of souls was confessedly depending. Concede, therefore, that religious controversy is to be upheld, and you encourage such an effect; you create the most numerous disputes, where there are the fewest reasons for them. You add fuel to a flame which might go out were it let alone. A person who meddles with strife of this sort ought to see what is to be the end of it, should there ever be an end. He ought to

calculate whither the flame may run, and what of piety and happiness and order it may consume in the land.

2. Contention, on religious subjects, fails, in most cases, to answer the purpose of convincing opponents, and in general the parties interested in the dispute. Of all others, it is, perhaps, the most unlikely method to produce this conviction. It is proverbially impotent as to this effect, on those who are personally committed to the debate. They are usually more strengthened in their own opinions by this means. You cannot commonly adopt a surer plan to establish a man in a cherished sentiment, than to call it in question. Engage him in defence of it, and you make him twice a convert to his own opinion. The more he is employed in examining it and fortifying it against attacks, the more he thinks it impregnable. Even where a person has been doubtful at first in regard to any point, attempt to prove it fallacious by disputing him directly, and his faith in it will grow exceedingly fast. Leave it unnoticed except in friendly conversation, or establish the opposite truth in some anti-belligerent way, and he will be much more likely to care but little for it himself. If after a long and anxious debate, a person, from the force of truth, owns that he is in the wrong, renounces his sentiment, and embraces that of his opponent, he must be a much more favorable specimen of human nature, than is usually found. The whole course of human experience is against the probability of success in convincing strongly committed opponents in debate, as also their respective parties.

In fortifying the mind in its own advocated opinions, every one is aware that regard of character, pride of knowledge, love of victory, the wishes of friends, the consideration of the world, are all concerned. We are mortified by defeat, and are not often disposed to acknowledge it, in the plainest case. And in fact, a man's own mind is generally blinded and steeled against conviction by the efforts which it puts forth, under these circumstances, to produce conviction in other minds. The object in this case is commonly not to learn the truth ourselves, but to impress it on others, and thus to show our superiority. And hence how little can success in controversy be calculated upon, in any common condition of things! Knowing what human nature is, who can be eager to enlist in so fruitless an attempt, as to produce conviction of truth in the minds of men, by entering the arena of strife and debate? It is true, the warfare may

cease after a time—a person may be silenced, (especially when he has nothing to say), but is he convinced—is he converted from the error of his way? He may be unable to produce a satisfactory reply, but does he *feel* the less against the truth, when he yields to it only at the end of a disputation? Few persons would dissent from the remark of Mr. Jefferson, who would of course be indifferent authority in matters purely religious, but of some weight where general principles in morals are concerned, that a man is never, or very rarely convinced by disputation that he is in an error, but that conviction to this effect, is, in almost every case, the result of calm and solitary reflection. As a means of aiding reflection or as independent and separate sources of conviction, he might have added, some practical exhibition of the futility of one's sentiments, some dispassionate conversation of a friend—or had his views happily extended thus far, some stirring divine providence, some motion of the Holy Spirit upon the heart, or some general revival of religion. In a single season, for instance, of revivals in a land, more disputants are set right—more errorists are induced to renounce their dogmas—more truths are embraced, than would seem to be the case, in any of the most laborious and prolonged disputations, that have ever been undertaken among evangelical churches. It is hopeless to suppress, by controversy, those errors that do not shut out genuine revivals of religion, and errors that genuine revivals of religion do not suppress. They are harmless errors in that case. We should, then, avoid as far as may be, a mode of expelling error and establishing the truth, which is so likely to miss of its end.

3. Controversy on religious subjects is more or less adverse to piety. Some who have been much engaged in it, and have felt that in some sense they were called to it as a matter of duty, have not been the last to acknowledge its unpropitious effect on the feelings and temper, as was true in regard to Melancthon, Baxter, and others. They were free to confess of how small service their controversial writings had been, as means of doing good to themselves or others. And as a matter of fact, do we not find that such is the character of these efforts? How little are Baxter's numerous or rather innumerable controversial writings remembered, and how little good have they done comparatively; while his practical works, as his "*Saint's Rest*," and



“Call to the Unconverted,” will doubtless be co-extensive with the duration of the church on earth; as they have already been the means of the conversion of myriads of souls! Had less contention been carried on and more of a practical exhibition been made of the truth, how much had it subserved the interests of piety, both in those who wrote, and in the community of christians at large!

To the disputants themselves what, commonly, can be conceived more clogging to devotion, more uncongenial to kind and charitable feelings towards others, or more embarrassing to the mind’s humility and self-distrust, than the habit of watching for a slip in an opponent’s argument, and of turning into ridicule or an absurdity whatever is capable of being represented in such a light. It sours the temper, induces suspicious feelings, and plants the seeds of ill-will towards many a brother. This has actually been the effect in innumerable cases, however different the intentions of the combatants had originally been, or whatever pains may have been taken to avoid such a result. The fact is, that other objects are almost always at heart in undertaking controversy of this description, than the promotion of personal holiness. All this is aside from the great sacrifice of time and health and spirits, which is submitted to in these gratuitous crusades against brethren—a sacrifice which may well be avoided, in view of all the contributions which might have been brought to the cause of personal holiness, in other forms of intellectual and spiritual effort.

Nor are the consequences less unpropitious to the community of christians around. They are taught so to magnify the points in debate, as if there was little besides important; to think more of the topics on which they differ from their fellow christians, than of those on which they are agreed, and to distrust and perhaps calumniate brethren whom they are bound tenderly to love. Angry and jealous feelings are harbored against one another—an effect which the interested leaders cannot always prevent, should they be disposed to do it. A partisan spirit characterizes the christian community, and lasting divisions are sometimes introduced, into what should be the one unseparated body of Christ. This is not holiness, nor the way to cultivate it in the Christian church.

We may see somewhat of the effects of controversy when it happens, for instance, in a commenced revival of religion. All shall go on prosperously while the plain simple truths of



the Bible are preached, and while the attention of the people is called to God and his requirements—to themselves and their demerits. But let some subject of debate be introduced, even if it have a tolerably evangelical character—let it be pursued as a matter of strife and contention, and thus the public notice be gained, and the revival commonly is no more. Some unessential controverted doctrine, some unimportant ceremony, or immaterial point of church order, so unseasonably introduced, shall be the means of paralyzing, through human weakness or depravity, God's own blessed work, and of proving eminently detrimental to the interests of holiness in a whole community." Some one says, "Generally men who are destitute of pious feelings are more fond of controversy, than of a simple exposition of Scriptural truth, for in controversy they find an attractive excitement for their minds, and food for their passions, and they readily believe that they are living a kind of religious life, just because they despise or hate the members of other communions." On the whole, then, may it not be inferred, with strong probability, that on this account also, contention on the subject of religion, should receive no decided countenance from the christian community, should it be granted that truth has occasionally been elicited by its instrumentality, or other good been incidentally done.

4. Religious controversy is too apt to be used, as a vehicle of slander and personal ill will towards an opposing individual or party. This has been already hinted, as it is one form in which contention of this kind is detrimental to piety. But such a particular effect may with propriety, be still further developed. Religious controversy follows too generally the law of other species of contention, in respect to the indulgence of the evils above named. There is nothing in the sacredness of the subject matter of dispute, or of the object professedly in view, which often can or does in fact relieve it of this odious peculiarity. It is the thing itself—the collision of feeling and opposition of will which give it its character, and not the scenes in which it is conversant, nor the materials which it employs. These do not sanctify, as they ought, the machinery which is set at work. That operates after its own unhallowed character. At least this is commonly the case. Nothing is more usual than for the disputants themselves, to complain of being misrepresented, erroneously quoted, unfairly treated, and cruelly slandered.

And much as these things are noticed by the parties themselves, they are as clearly perceived by readers or hearers. Personal crimination and abuse become apparent. Boastful or reproachful epithets, angry or vindictive feelings too often deform the page, or rankle in the heart of the controversialist. He is fond of insinuating that his opponent's head or heart, or both, are sadly out of the way. The intention often seems to be to sting an adversary to the quick, and insulting allegations and caustic replies are not spared, where there is reason to think that they will take effect. Thus truth is lost sight of, for the sake of indulging in these improper feelings. Because it is a public altercation, and they have a character for tact, or learning or wit to sustain, they feel too commonly authorised to use such weapons of warfare.

Undue and covert measures, also, are sometimes employed—measures which involve a dereliction of moral principle—in order to defeat an adversary, and to bring his cause into disrepute. The sanctuary of private life is invaded—the confidential communications of friendship are disclosed—letters are found, or opened—secret drawers would seem to be unlocked and rifled of their contents, in order to produce the condemnation of a brother controversialist, or help forward the undertaken cause. Nor is it known that these things are confined to one party, or that the suspicion of their having been done in these times, is founded on the temper of any particular individuals. It belongs too much to the controversialist's character, especially in this revolutionary age. This is so much the case, that an eminent writer of this country, who, in ill-health *was* about to embark on a voyage to Europe, is said in the contingency of his not living to return, to have put his private papers in such a condition, that none would have the privilege of extracting from them those confidential views, which he meant only for the circle of friendship.

Nor is religious controversy, in these days, less a vehicle of bold and unsparing denunciation in general, than it is of other and more private wrongs. There used to be charity *once*, and room in the heart for Christian reciprocities, towards those who differed somewhat in their views of tenets and measures. But now he who does not agree with us in every thing, particularly in some favorite dogma or plan of procedure, is pelted with reproaches, or called by no gra-

cious name. "If you do not come up to my standard, you are yet in the dark, unprincipled, destitute of religion, and I will annoy you as much as is in my power." Such seems too nearly the import of much of the controversial language, which has lately been used. We have been astonished to find in the advocacy of certain causes, what a denunciatory tone is held in reference to any that doubt, what a dogmatic, magniloquent, fault-finding style is assumed in order to drive the cautious, or scare the timid into compliance. One would suppose that no apprehension was entertained of one's own liability to be mistaken; and that the laws of Christian comity and kindness might be violated with impunity. With ministers of the gospel, in some instances, no measures are kept, if they do not sanction all the vagaries which an uncalculating enthusiasm so hastily puts forth. In this relation, one can not be a Christian, or faithful to his master, if he goes not with us. Fire must come down from heaven to consume the erring fellow-laborers who will not follow in our train. Even in advocating the cause of peace, the belligerent or denunciatory style is sometimes employed. One says "I am at a loss to conceive how a professed minister of the Gospel can execute his high commission, who stands aloof from peace societies." Scarcely the right of private judgment seems to be allowed. Shall religious controversy, the vehicle of these slanders and these effusions of uncharitableness, be deemed worthy of that countenance of the Christian community, which it has too often received? We would rather say, with one of the most godly ministers with whom we are acquainted, and the most devoted to his flock—"I could wish, whatever necessity there may be for the more general defences of religion, that these disputes among Christians could be heard of no more." Is not this the genuine dictate of that charity by which more than any thing else, we are known to be Christ's disciples? That we may not seem to have erred ourselves by any severity of remarks on this head, we are free to declare as has already been intimated, that the spirit which is here condemned, is not peculiar to any one party in the great existing controversies which agitate the Christian public. It has infected all parties by far too much, and we cannot but think that the evil deserves to be candidly, but plainly exposed.

5. In religious disputes, like most others, there is a strong tendency to combat merely for victory. There is every



appearance to justify us in this conclusion. Whatever may be proposed or intended at the commencement of a debate, it is extremely apt to become a strife who or what party shall win the day—it proves too often to be a battle of words, and the object is a triumph. The interests of truth and right seem but a subordinate concern, in the heat of feeling which is engendered. Every Christian mind must view this effect only with regret, and we certainly take no pleasure in commenting upon it. That such however is the issue of this mode of maintaining what is deemed the truth is apparent from the fact, that the dispute is kept up after the appropriate topics are exhausted, after the arguments are at an end—and then crimination and recrimination are resorted to—what has been once said is said over and over again with aggravated personalities; and if the disputants are not wearied out, the public sometimes happily is. In looking over protracted controversies in the church, we shall often find that the later productions are little more than statements, that the one party said thus, and the other party said thus—that points which have been conceded are charged again upon the disputant—that objections which have been over and over again answered, are urged afresh on his notice, the whole constituting a tedious and most unedifying series of self-vindication.

All this is for victory at the end, if the end comes through the impatience of the community; and then victory is proclaimed; but commonly by both parties. If we are not mistaken, in the many disputations now publicly held on some of the great exciting questions of the day, little is gained on the score of conviction. Each party is determined to be pleased with its own champion, and concludes without fail, that he was the better in his arguments, as his cause was the better cause. So we read the published accounts, perhaps, in every case. Few or none think differently in consequence of all that has been said, except as the silent solitary reflection before alluded to has been in effective operation, in the meanwhile; and then here and there a convert will be found. It oftener happens, however, that the dispute is left as a sort of heir-loom to the succeeding generation, which is expected to take it up, and do as their fathers did. That this is not an individual opinion, we will show by a quotation from the sober Dr. Scott, in one of his *Practical Observations*. “When the members of the same



religious fraternity," he says, "are betrayed into dispute about some abstruse sentiment, or frivolous ceremony, it commonly proves irreconcilable, and ends in another, and so another division almost *in infinitum*. In all these facts, not only the pride and folly of man, but the subtlety of Satan may be discerned: for love and union are the strength, the ornament, and the very criterion of Christianity, and disunion gives its enemies their most plausible arguments against it." This latter thought suggests to us at the present place, another reason against religious disputation, in the sense already explained, i. e., as to any encouragement to be afforded to it, and that is—

6. It furnishes to the enemies of Christianity an unhappy occasion against this religion. The Gospel is reproached through the bad tempers, the moral infirmities, the want of brotherly love manifested so often by Christian controversialists. Nothing is more common than to judge of the character of religion through the conduct and feelings of its professed friends. This is a very natural medium in which to view it, although it ought to be more especially estimated in its own pure and inspired records, and in its obvious design. This intermediate judgment is partly the result of our constitutional propensities, and cannot always be avoided—although it also proceeds from prejudice, depravity, and a particular cherished aversion to religion. It will be agreed nevertheless, that no occasion should be afforded for false conceptions of Christianity—for injurious imputations against it. Yet the embittered controversies which are so incautiously engaged in, do afford occasion—lamentable occasion for the sneers and calumnies of infidels and enemies. They reproach religion on this account, and rejoice in the opportunity. It is a medium most suited to the nefarious purpose of venting their spleen and rage against the best of causes. They are enabled, with too much plausibility, to reverse the delightful remark called forth by the character of primitive Christianity—"See how these Christians love one another," and make it read, "See how these Christians hate one another." Such is too nearly the aspect given to the feelings and intercourse of professed Christians, by means of their party strifes. Who that has the spirit of a man and a Christian, but must blush that so needless an occasion is afforded, for the profanation of a religion whose name and nature is charity?

Besides, the subjects and manner of these disputations are very apt to throw an air of suspicion over all religion—to produce infidelity itself. Many a believer has been temporarily shaken, whose notions of that which constitutes Christian character have been shocked by these disagreements and evil passions, inasmuch as they convey an intimation, that however sincerely he may himself have rested on Christ, there was after all a possibility of a common mistake. A distinguished preacher and most pious man remarked to us, that this awful spirit of bitterness and controversy in regard to the topics of Revelation, would almost make him a sceptic but for a few leading explicit principles which it contained. But the effect on the unconverted portion of the community is, in this view, more especially disastrous. They are confirmed in their neglect of religion and in some instances pass from simple impenitency to the hopelessness of atheism. This is especially the effect on minds of a certain cast—minds that cannot be made familiar with the weaknesses and wrong conduct of the professed friends of piety, without feeling a disgust for the cause which they advocate. Every man, then, who enters upon controversy of this kind, should well consider in what light he is about to present the holy religion of the Bible before the world. Such an advantage ought not, indeed, to be taken of these instances of human imperfections, and we know that they are often magnified by the unbeliever's own prejudices; yet wherever it is possible, the occasions of them should be most conscientiously shunned.

Religious controversy adds immensely to the morbid excitability of the public mind at this day. It is one of the influences which constitute this excitability. Disputation among Christians, needs rather to be abstracted from the amount of such influences than to be added to them, and to augment their volume. All that is good among us may yet be borne down by such a rush of feeling and excitement, embracing as it does almost every interest which affects human beings—politics, legislation, literature, morals, and religion. Nearly every topic, so is it now managed, enkindles passion. You touch the train, and the whole magazine of combustibles is blown into a flame. No one will doubt that there is danger in this over-working of human susceptibilities. We see it in the mobs, and radicalism, and aggrarianism which have been so rife in these times. Now it is the office and should be the

glory of Christianity to allay this spirit, rather than add to it. This heavenly system should be defended and taught less in the way of disputation, than by a plain, calm, and simple exposition of the truth—by a practical exhibition of its loveliness. This thought leads us to remark—

Finally, that there is a better way than controversy. It is the way of piety. Let the other be suspended for a while, and this tried. It is worth the experiment. Christians should determine what can be done by an increase of piety—of love to God, and love to man, with a view to arrest the progress of delusion, and error, and crime. It will effect more, it may be said with confidence, than all the logic and metaphysics of the controversialist's pen. Besides, religious disputes, like war, and every species of contention in which evil feelings are enlisted, are destined at length to cease. They will not exist in heaven; and it is believed that the millenium will show, that they cannot always prevail in this world—at least that they will then, put on a very mild aspect, if they exist at all. Is it not, therefore, the duty of Christians to stanch the evil, as it is their duty to seek the advancement of millenial glory—yea, as it is their duty to aim after the perfection of heaven?

The kingdom of God, the apostle says "is not meat and drink, but righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost." And he further says, "Let us consider one another to provoke unto love and good works." And again "Let us therefore, follow after the things which make for peace and things wherewith one may edify another." Are not numbers in danger of overlooking these and the like injunctions, in maintaining their different opinions of a speculative nature, honest as they may be in those opinions? Do they not attach too much importance to them in comparison with the great essential things of salvation? Debate of some kind is doubtless required at times, according to admissions stated in the former part of this paper; but in this case it is to be considered in the light rather of a necessary evil. And when resorted to it should be under the influence of the most upright motives, and conducted in the kindest spirit. When it is undertaken, as it was by President Edwards under a sort of necessity, these principles should be practically acknowledged:—especially let a disposition be manifested to treat our opponents as brethren, and the mode be characterized as his was, rather by strength of reasoning, than by violence of denunciation.

Not that all are guilty even in these times. Many there are who keep aloof from this species of excitement, and others from natural disposition or grace *would* keep aloof from it, if they were not compelled to such a course. Although they are not suffered to be altogether free from this state of things, because others will differ with them, yet they engage in the undertaking on the simplest principles of self-defence. Contention is not their element—they do not desire it—they pray to be delivered from it. Their strongest aspirations are for peace and union. They desire to live in charity with all their fellow-men and to promote their well-being by prayer and exhortation and every office of kindness. The great practical principles and truths of religion they *would* pursue unmolested by party strife. This is the proper feeling and course. Those truths that are essential to conversion at the beginning, and to growth in grace afterwards—to an instant preparation for eternity claim the first place. And it will at length be seen, that the ordinary topics of dispute in religion, however interesting to the feelings, and in a sense necessary, in such a state of things as exists at present, are inconsiderable in comparison with those which pertain directly to the salvation of the soul.

Perhaps the dawn of better things begins already to appear; and discussion leaving doubtful matters and barren speculations, and fastening upon topics of generally acknowledged importance, and conducted in the mild forbearing temper of the Gospel, will yet wake up the church to the height of holy living and heavenly charity: and then smaller differences will either be adjusted, or if they continue to exist, will not interrupt the progress of the Gospel towards the conversion of all nations.

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## ARTICLE III.

## THE CHURCH OF GOD.

By Rev. Samuel Helffenstein, Jr., Pastor of the German Reformed Church, Gwyned, Pa.

## I. THE NATURE AND CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH.

THE Church of God is a most interesting subject of contemplation, whether considered in respect to its past history, its present existence and attitude, or its future glory. If the Bible be a safe guide, it shall in the latter times, attain universal extension and unbounded influence; and "the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ." It is then a matter of deeply interesting inquiry: What is the Church? How are her existence and perpetuity on earth secured? And who are her members? To afford a brief and scriptural answer to these inquiries is the design of this article.

What do we mean, when we speak of 'the Church,'—in other words, *what is the Church?* Possibly some may deem this question too simple and easy to deserve an answer; and yet the probability is that but few who are accustomed to talk about 'the Church,' have any proper and definite conception either of the name or the thing.

The word 'Church' (Εκκλησία,) signifies an *Assembly*: but of what kind, whether religious or civil, lawful or unlawful, must be determined by the connection of the term and the subject of the writer. The word 'Εκκλησία is applied in the New Testament in the following senses:

To a *small association* of Christians, meeting in a private house; (Col. 4: 15, Rom. 16: 5).

To *local organizations* of professing christians, whether assembling in one place or several; as in Acts 11: 22, Acts 13: 1, 1 Cor. 1: 2, Gal. 1: 2, and the apostolic salutations and inscriptions of the epistles generally.

To the *aggregate body* of professing christians in external covenant with God; (1 Cor. 12: 28, 1 Cor. 15: 9, &c).

To the *whole body* of those who are truly regenerated and sanctified, whether yet in a state of imperfection and

conflict on earth, or of perfection and glory in heaven. (Eph. 5: 24, 27. Heb. 12: 23).

The *Officers* or Rulers of the Church. (Matth. 18: 15, 16, 17\*).

It is doubtful whether the term is ever used in the sacred Scriptures to denote the *building* or *place* of meeting (1 Cor. 11: 22), although in popular language it is, by a figure of speech, frequently thus employed.

According to modern usage the term is sometimes applied in a denominational sense; as when we speak of the Church of *Rome*, the Church of *England*, the *Lutheran* Church, etc.

Setting aside the local or restricted senses of the term, its Scriptural significations are reducible to these two: 'The Church' means either, 1. The *invisible* kingdom of the Lord Jesus Christ, consisting only of true believers or saints. 2. The *visible* kingdom of the Messiah, composed of all those who throughout the world profess the true religion. The latter signification is the true and proper one, when we speak of the Church of God as an organized society of men on earth.

By the Church then, in this sense, we mean that "visible

\* "Tell it unto the *Church*," is the passage here referred to, (verse 17). The earliest English editions of the New Testament, (1539 and 1541), render it, "Tell it to the *congregation*." The word is *ἐκκλησία*, which our author, above, properly defines to signify *an assembly*. Yet it is not without authority that he here applies the word to "the officers and rulers of the Church." To us, however, this interpretation appears to be altogether forced and unnatural. We can see no intimation that this was the mind of the spirit in the original, and whatever may be our preference of a particular form of Church government, we can not consent to sustain that preference by applying this direction of our Saviour to a purpose so widely removed from what appears to us to have been its obvious intention. We can not but agree with Doddridge in his remark that, "this is one of those many Scriptures which would have been very intelligible, if they had not been learnedly obscured by ingenious men, whose interest it has been to spread a cloud over them." The severity of this remark we would by no means apply to our author. He has, no doubt, honestly expressed his opinion of the passage referred to. EDITOR.

Catholic Society," which God has collected and united together in the dispensation of the gospel for sacred purposes, and which consists of all those who throughout the world profess the true religion. The Church is "visible," to distinguish her from the "elect of God," who being known to him only, cannot, as *such*, form a separate society among men. The Church is "Catholic," or one, comprising all who in every place call upon the name of the Lord.

That the Church of God is thus one and visible I shall now produce particular proof. If we consult the Old Testament we find that she is represented to us as one and visible. The Church was then composed of the descendants of Abraham, who formed a separate community consisting of hypocrites and nominal professors as well as true saints; yet all these, having the seal of the covenant in the flesh, whether belonging to the election of grace or not, whether worshipping at Jerusalem or Babylon, were reputed members of the one and visible congregation of the Lord. The predictions of the Old Testament in relation to the glory of the Church in the times of the Messiah are based upon the supposition, not of the abolishment, but of the continuance of her visible Unity. Many of the promises given to the Church are made to her in her *public* capacity, and if her visibility and unity be denied, can never be fulfilled. It is promised: "I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream. (Is. 46: 12). Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers. (Is. 49: 23). The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and kings to the brightness of thy rising." (Is. 60: 3, 5, Rom, 15: 12). In these and similar passages the Church is spoken of, not as many, but as *one*, and as possessed of an existence which is *external* and can be distinguished. The New Testament speaks the same language, and indicates the perpetuity and present existence of the one external visible church. "This was he that was with the Church in the wilderness." (Acts 7: 38). Stephen here refers to Moses, and surely none will say that the Church he was with in the wilderness was the elect only. It was, as Moses himself informs us on the particular occasion alluded to by the martyr, "the people,"—"the whole congregation,"—"all the children of Israel." (Ex. 32, and Num. 14). "The Lord added to the Church daily such as should be saved." Acts

2 : 47). The Church to which the Lord added such as should be saved was not the body of the elect, for to them no addition can be made ; it was the Church visible and Catholic. And they are called *the saved* : (as in other places they are styled *the converted, regenerate, saints, faithful, &c.*) not on the ground that this was strictly true of each and every one, without exception, who then joined the Church, but because such language was applicable to them in the aggregate or as a body, professing and possessing the offers and means of salvation. Passages from the New Testament might be multiplied in which the term Church has evidently the same meaning, implying oneness and visibility. "God has set some in the *Church*, first apostles," &c. (1 Cor. 12 : 28). "Saul made havoc of the *Church*." (Acts 8 : 3). "Gaius the host of the *Church*." (Rom. 16 : 23). "Give no offence to the *Church* of God." (1 Cor. 10 : 32). "I persecuted the *Church* of God." (1 Cor. 15 : 9).

One of the most common appellations by which the Church of God is distinguished in the New Testament, is "the kingdom of heaven." In this language she is designated as one, not as several ; she is described as employing the agency of men and therefore visible ; and as composed while on earth, like other kingdoms, of a mixed multitude, of false as well as true subjects ; and all attempts to effect an entire separation of hypocrites and true saints in the Church on earth, we are informed will only terminate in the destruction of both. Such is the evident import of the parable of the tares (Matth. 13 : 24, 30), of the net (Matth. 13 : 47, 50), and of the ten virgins, five of whom were wise and five were foolish. (Matth. 25).

In urging his Corinthian brethren to unity, Paul presents to them as a motive, "that there may be no schism in the body," adding, "now we are the body of Christ and members in particular." (1 Cor. 12 : 25, 27). By "the body of Christ," the apostle undoubtedly means the Church of Christ, but not the Church of the elect, for there are no schisms in that body as *such* ; he must therefore mean the external Church, that same in which he tells us, (verse 28), "God hath set, some apostles, &c." All *the means of grace* are external, the Bible, the sabbath, the ministry, the solemn assembly, the ordinances ; how then is it possible that the Church to whom they appertain can be something different and opposite ?



This actual constitution and state of the Church, being external and visible, and therefore composed more or less of hypocrites and false professors, as well as true saints, is conformable to analogy. “The *world* teems with sin, it is full of plagues and curses: but it is still *God’s* world; the subject of his government and the treator of his grace. The *heart* of the true believer is infested by the remains of depravity, yet this does not hinder that his body and soul should be *the temple of the Holy Ghost*.” So the Church of God composed as she is, of false as well as true subjects, is notwithstanding, *His Church*. The connection of good and evil in the present state is one of those mysteries we cannot explain; but the doctrine is uncontrovertible. Without attempting to pry into the secrets of heaven, we can plainly discern many important advantages which are derived from the present mixed character of the Church. By her close connection with and bearing upon civil society: the *quantity of actual sin* in the world is reduced, and of consequence the amount of human misery. By the same constitution her resources are greatly increased, and she is enabled to levy upon the *pecuniary* contributions, and convert to her use and advantage the *talents* of unsanctified man. By the same arrangement she also obtains and secures *protection*, and is kept from utter extermination.

The doctrine of the visibility and unity of the Church being established, the following are some of the necessary results. 1. The Church of God being “Catholic” or one, no particular or partial association of Christians, have a right to assume to themselves the exclusive title of “*the Church* :” that appellation belongs to the body of professing Christians in their collective capacity. 2. Every particular section and division of the Church and every individual member of it, possess a common interest in the Christian ordinances, and a mutual right to hold religious fellowship with each other as God affordeth opportunity. This is on the ground that they are *parts of that great whole* to which Christ has bequeathed his word and ordinances, namely, his Church. 3. The Church of God being “visible” and composed of unsound as well as sound members, an absolutely perfect or pure society of Christians on earth is a fond conceit which has never been realized in fact, and the expectation of which, in the present state of the world, is utterly unauthorized by Scripture. 4. Yet, this visibility and consequent imperfection of the

Church of Christ on earth affords her no ground why she should relax her vigilance; on the contrary it is a powerful motive for her to increase her carefulness and fidelity in the admission of members, and in disciplining and excluding the scandalous. While it is the prerogative of God to "bring good out of evil," the duty of the Church is plain, to prevent by every means in her power, her worship and ordinances from being profaned. "It no more follows that the Church is not to thrust from her embrace, the known servants of sin, because her vigilance may be eluded and her efforts defeated, than it follows that believers may indulge themselves in the commission of sin, because all their exertions will be insufficient to destroy it while they are in the body; or than it follows that crimes are to stalk unquestioned through the earth, because they cannot entirely be cut off." (Dr. Mason's Christian's Magazine.)

## II. THE TRANSMISSION AND PERPETUITY OF THE CHURCH.

How is the Church of God transmitted, and how is its perpetuity on earth secured? There are three ways in which this is accomplished.

1. The first method is by *hereditary descent*. The infant seed of the believers are the best hope of the Church of God, and they are and ought to be treated as a principal part of her visible membership. For, in the first place, they *need* equally with those of mature age an interest in the blessings of salvation, of which the Church is the appointed channel of conveyance. They are by nature the children of disobedience and wrath, and in the providence of God are treated as guilty, being subject to misery and death. If then, dying in their infancy, they are pardoned and saved, it must be, not on the ground of merit, but by the exercise of divine mercy through the atonement. Again, they as well as adults are *capable* of participating in the blessings of Redemption. If not, their condition is deplorable indeed, they are without hope and must perish forever. And accordingly the argument which begins with unchurching the infant seed of believers terminates in their damnation. "Of such," says the Saviour, "is the kingdom of heaven." (Matth. 19: 14.) Regeneration is the work of God, and no good reason can be

given why infants and children may not be the subjects of that gracious change as well as adults. Of John the Baptist it is declared that "he was filled with the Holy Ghost from the womb;" and the same in substance is affirmed of Isaiah and Jeremiah. Lastly, the infant seed of believers are members of the Church of God, because they have *in fact* been constituted such by the express and positive enactment of Jehovah. At the formation of the visible Church in Abraham, particular provision was made for her perpetuity by including within the covenant his "seed," and applying to them accordingly the seal of circumcision. Thus has the principle or law been recognized and established that the Church of God is to be transmitted through the offspring of believers, and that they constitute an important part of her membership. A law once made continues in force, unless by the same authority and with equal explicitness it be abolished. But the law of infant church membership so formally enacted and for so many centuries acted upon, is nowhere in the New Testament abrogated; on the contrary the apostles, in their language and conduct towards the converts from Judaism and Paganism, proceed upon the supposition of its continuance. (Acts 2: 39, Acts 16: 15, 1 Cor. 7: 14.) Hence we infer that a law of such necessary and universal application still remains obligatory. It is a common sentiment that the baptism of children makes them members of the Church, but this is an error; their baptism does not make them members, it only recognizes their right of membership already existing; their membership is not founded upon their baptism, but their baptism upon their membership; and whether that seal of the covenant be applied to them or not, they are (in the case of believing parents) not "without," but within the pale of the Church. Is any one here disposed to object, "how can children be members of the Church without their own consent?" I reply, that with equal propriety it might be asked, how can they be members of the civil state, or created rational beings, without their own consent. It is their "birthright," their privilege, and none the less such because it is a common one or greatly perverted. Every one who has proper views of the divine constitution of the Church of Christ, will feel that to have been born within its pale, is a boon not lightly to be esteemed or trampled under foot, but a matter of humble and devout thanksgiving to

God for so distinguishing a mercy. There is piety as well as truth in the language of Dr. Watts :

“ Lord I ascribe it to thy grace ;  
And not to chance, as others do ;  
That I was born of Christian race,  
And not a heathen or a Jew.”

2. A second method of securing the perpetuity of the Christian church is the voluntary assumption of covenant engagements on the part of the children and youth of the church who have arrived to adult age. Such as are born in the church and are dedicated to God in their infancy are under solemn responsibility when they arrive to years of maturity to respect the authority of the church, to promote her welfare, and on the ground of their personal faith to assume upon themselves covenant engagements. Refusing to do this, their birthright will profit them nothing, but only increase their guilt and condemnation ; yea more, so long as they continue without making a public profession of their faith in the gospel, it amounts on their part to a virtual renunciation of their interest in the redemption of Christ. The question with the baptized children of the church when come to years of understanding is not, ‘ Shall I embrace Christianity, but, shall I *renounce* it ? ’ not, ‘ shall I become a member of the Saviour’s family, but shall I disown and deny him, and become an open apostate ? ’ This is the question they have to answer ; and this peculiar responsibility of the children of the church ought to be early stated and explained to them, and their duty urged upon them, and expected of them. If we treat the children of the church as those “ who have no part in the Lord,” we make ourselves chargeable with the guilt of those who “ cause them to cease from fearing the Lord.” (Josh. 22 : 24, 25.)

3. The third and last method of continuing and extending the church of God on earth is by the conversion and admission of such as sustain no original connection with the church, but are “ without ” her pale, as Jews, Mahometans, Pagans, infidels, the openly scandalous, &c. On this ground the church is called to act in her missionary capacity and in an aggressive character. And truly an extensive field invites her efforts and her conquest ; both at home and abroad the fields are white and ripe for the harvest. But our limits forbid us to enlarge.



## III. THE QUALIFICATIONS OF ADULT CHURCH MEMBERS.

What are the qualifications necessary to entitle adults to become members, in full communion, of the church?

This question resolves itself into two parts. 1. The Rule of judgment by which the church applicant must try himself. 2. The Rule of judgment by which the church must try the applicant. This is not "a distinction without a difference." The parties immediately concerned in the two cases are different; in the one it is the soul and its Maker, in the other the individual and the church. The matter to be determined is also different; in the one case it is the *reality* of a man's personal religion; in the other it is the *visibility* or evidence of it. Although Christ has committed to his church "the keys of the kingdom of heaven" and devolved upon her the responsibility of keeping his truth and ordinances uncorrupted, yet that grant does not constitute her the Lord of men's consciences, or authorize her to assume (what is the sole prerogative of Jehovah) the right of searching the heart or sitting in judgment upon the secret state of the soul. Hence it results, that an individual may have a right to church fellowship (in foro ecclesiæ) in the judgment of the church, and yet be without such claim (in foro conscientiæ) at the bar of conscience and the tribunal of his Maker.

1. The Rule of judgment by which an individual applying for admission into the Christian church must try himself, is the *reality* of his personal piety or conversion to God. The matter to be determined is not merely that he is sincere, or serious, or convinced that he is a sinner, or that he has in many respects become reformed in his conduct—for all these things may exist while the heart is yet a stranger to regenerating grace. Nor is it simply that he wishes or hopes to *become* a Christian, but that which he is to ascertain is that he is *one already*, having been truly regenerated by the Spirit of God, and possessing sincere love to the Lord Jesus Christ. He is not required to be free from *doubt*, for that *may* be rather an evidence of a proper state of mind than the contrary; at any rate, for an individual to have doubts of his acceptance with God is a different thing from knowing that he is *not* regenerated. Much less is it

indispensable that he should have an infallible *assurance* of his salvation, for in that case few or none could apply for church privileges. The thing concerning which the church applicant must satisfy himself is, that upon an impartial and Scriptural view of his case, he has at least probable or preponderating evidence that he has repented of his sins, has been born again, and is in a state of grace and acceptance with his Maker. Even under the shadowy dispensation of the Old Testament, which was far less spiritual than the New, a right state of the heart was indispensable for a proper performance of religious duty. "Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do, to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth." (Ps. 50: 16.) The nature and design of the Lord's supper as a memorial of Christ, a seal of the blessings of his grace, and a communion of his real members with himself and each other; as also the description given us of the character of the primitive disciples and churches, as being certainly by profession and in appearance "believers"—"saints," "the faithful in Christ," &c. conclusively show that those only are entitled and qualified to celebrate the Christian Passover who have on "the wedding garment;" that is, a right state of the heart and frame of mind—which is a heart renewed by divine grace, and a mind sanctified by the indwelling of the spirit of holiness.

2. The reality of a man's personal piety or the gracious state of his heart is then the matter by which an individual must determine in his own view, his fitness or unfitness in the use of the sealing ordinances of God's house. But the question here occurs, is the church in the admission of members to proceed by the same rule? We answer by no means. "It is certain that God has not given the church authority to scrutinize the hearts of candidates, because he has not furnished the means. The gift of discerning spirits has long since ceased, and the present rulers of the church can judge only by profession and practice. To attempt to penetrate into the recesses of the soul, is to erect an inquisitorial tribunal for the trial of men's spiritual state; and as long as there are hypocrisy and self-deceit in the world, the sentences pronounced from it will be often exceedingly unjust." (Dick's Theol. vol. 2. p. 46!). Without regeneration

external connection with the church will certainly be of no avail, and the thing which candidates are required to profess and possess is godliness, still the rule by which the church is to proceed is and can be nothing more than the profession of the individual. President Edwards, than whom perhaps no uninspired individual has examined and understood this subject more profoundly, and who was the strenuous and successful advocate for the strictest sort of communion, nevertheless uses such language as the following: "Neither has he (God) given his ministers and churches any *certain rule*, whereby they may know whether any person that offers himself for admission to the sacrament, has any degree of moral sincerity, moral seriousness of spirit, or any inward moral qualification whatsoever. These things have all their existence in the soul, which is out of our neighbour's view. Not therefore a *certainly*, but a *profession* and *visibility* of these things must be the rule of the church's proceeding," &c. (Edward's works vol. 1. p. 294).

The external evidence or the public profession of godliness was the ground on which the apostles evidently proceeded in the admission of individuals to the Christian church and ordinances. The Jews who were converted on the day of Pentecost were baptized on the ground of their public profession of faith in the truth of the Christian religion. "Then they that gladly received the word were baptized." (Acts 3: 41). "That is," as President Edwards remarks, "they which appeared gladly to receive the word or manifested and professed a cordial and cheerful compliance with the calls of the word, with the directions the apostles had given them. The manifestation was doubtless by some profession," &c. (vol. 1. p. 221). In commenting upon the 47th verse of the same 3d chapter of the Acts he observes, "Not that all who were added to the visible church were indeed regenerated, but they were so in profession and repute, and therefore were so in name" (vol. 1. p. 222). It was on the ground of his profession that "Jesus Christ was the Son of God" that the Eunuch was baptized by Philip. (Acts 8: 37). The same appears in the case of the Jailer, Lydia, the converts of Samaria. In all these and other cases recorded in the New Testament *saving faith* was the thing required, yet was it on the *profession* of such

faith that converts were admitted to the Christian church. The apostles in ordinary cases exercised not, if indeed they possessed, the miraculous gift of discerning spirits; they pretended not to scrutinize the heart, but were determined by credible evidence and a reasonable judgment in a man's favor. In some cases they were even imposed on, for in all the churches planted by their labors there appears to have been more or less hypocrites and self-deceivers, yet so long as these preserved a decent profession and were free from scandalous crimes, the apostles took no measures and gave no directions for their expulsion. In the case of Paul, it was some time after his conversion, that the disciples had confidence in the sincerity of his profession, which shows that they possessed and laid claim to no mysterious power of ascertaining the secret state of the soul.

The profession of godliness and not its reality is then the church's rule of procedure in the admission of candidates to her communion. The church is bound to receive such as Christ has received. (Rom. 15: 7). But in determining who are of this character and therefore worthy of being received into her bosom, she is not to erect herself into a spiritual court upon the conscience and the heart, but is to judge and decide solely by the individual's profession, his being able to give credible external evidence that he has been born of God. Now there are three things by which the credibility of an individual's profession may be determined. 1. By an examination of his doctrinal knowledge or his acquaintance with the leading facts and truths of revelation. 2. By requiring him "to give a reason of the hope that is in him," by showing that his knowledge has operated on his experience. 3. And lastly by ascertaining that his life is irreproachable and his conduct habitual and exemplary in the discharge of Christian duty.

We will close with a single reflection. How interesting and important does the history of our world and race become when viewed in their connection with the church of God! This stone hewn from the mountains is destined to fill the whole earth. "The heathen may rage and the people imagine a vain thing, yet God has set his King upon the holy hill of Zion." (Ps. 2). Who can be indifferent? Certainly not the Christian. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,



let my right hand forget her cunning ; If I do not prefer thee above my chief joy." (Ps. 137 : 5, 6).

" I love thy kingdom, Lord,  
The house of thine abode ;  
The church, our blest Redeemer sav'd  
With his own precious blood.

" For her my tears shall fall ;  
For her my prayers ascend ;  
To her my cares and toils be given,  
'Till toils and cares shall end."

## ARTICLE IV.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ATHEISM.

By Rev. Enoch Pond, D. D., Prof. Theol., Theol. Sem., Bangor, Me.

IN presenting some brief account of opinions and discussions in reference to the point above proposed, it will be necessary, first of all, to define Atheism ; since according to the extent of the definition will be the number of individuals included under it. If by Atheists, we understand all those who cast off fear, and restrain prayer, and live " without hope, and without God (*αθεοι*,) in the world," we shall include, there is reason to believe, by far the greater proportion of the human race. Not only in Pagan and Jewish, but in Christian lands, a vast majority, we fear, are in this sense Atheists.

Or if, under the designation of Atheist, we include all those who, while they acknowledge a Supreme Being, entertain inadequate and unworthy ideas of his perfections and attributes, the number of Atheists in this sense, will still be great. It will embrace almost the entire body of the heathen, and with them a large number of nominal and professed Christians.

On the other hand, if we include none under the term Atheist, but those who are *professedly* such—who deny God in words, and never use the name of God, unless it be in a way of reproach ; the number of Atheists, in this sense, will be comparatively small. A great many will escape the defi-

nition, who ought, in fairness, to be included under it. Atheists, like other errorists, have in most instances been disposed to practice artifice and concealment. They have freely used the name of God, while in fact they denied him.

Those, says Cudworth, are Atheists, "who assert that there is *no conscious, intellectual nature* presiding over the universe;" or who assert that the first cause of all things (out of himself) is not an *intelligent, conscious, designing, active, Being*. Those who come under this definition may speak of God as respectfully as they please, still, if their God be no other than *chance, or nature, or necessity* or a *figure of speech*; if he is not an *independent, intellectual Being*, the author and governor of all other beings and things; they have no claim to be ranked in the number of Theists. They are Atheists.

The religion of man, in the first ages of the world, was pure Theism. God revealed himself to our first progenitors as their Creator and Sovereign, and as the creator of all other beings and things. Whether the perverseness of men, previous to the deluge, was such as to result in literal Atheism, we have no means of determining. Their wickedness, we are told, "was great in the earth, and every imagination and thought of their hearts were only evil, and that continually;" still, it is not said that they were *theoretically* Atheists.

In the renewal of the race, subsequent to the deluge, the religion of man, as at the first, was a pure Theism. Noah and his immediate descendants had abundant means of knowing God, and they regarded him as the intelligent Creator and Sovereign of the Universe. But men at that period, as in every other, "did not like to *retain* God in their knowledge." They soon forgot him, and forsook him; and God gave up the great mass of mankind to the unrestrained indulgence of their own errors and lusts.

Idolatry seems to have been first practised in Mesopotamia. The ancestors of Abraham, we are told, "served other Gods." Josh. 24: 2. Shortly after this, idolatry was planted in Egypt, and from these two central positions it soon diffused itself through the greater part of the then inhabited earth.

According to our definition, however, we are not to class the great body of the ancient idolators under the denomination of Atheists; since, in connexion with their idolatrous

superstitions, they believed in and worshipped one Supreme Being, the Father and Sovereign Ruler of all. \* Their fault lay, not in rejecting the doctrine of one God, but in worshipping him through the intervention of images, or in bestowing upon inferior divinities, some portion of that Divine worship and honor which was due to him alone.

Yet the tendency of idolatry was to Atheism ; and it was not long before the results of this tendency began actually to appear. We hear of some, in what may be termed the *fabulous* age of the world, who sustained the bad reputation of being called Atheists. Thus, among the confederates at Latium, in opposition to Æneas, there was found a Mezentius, "contemptor Deum," who acknowledged no God, save his weapons, and his own right hand.

The most ancient of the philosophical sects in Grecia Propria was the Ionic.† It was founded by Thales, one of the seven wise men of Greece. The successor of Thales was Anaximander. He first taught philosophy in a public school, and was the first to commit his philosophical principles and maxims to writing. He was born in the year 610 before Christ and is generally regarded as the first speculative Atheist. He taught that matter, in its *substance* or *essence*, is the only thing which has existed from eternity ; that all the appearances in nature, even those to which we attach the names of intelligence and will, are but different modifications or affections of matter ; and that these, by an *inherent, plastic tendency*, are generated from itself. There is no need, therefore, of an intelligent, designing first cause. Matter itself, in possession, from all eternity, of these *inherent, plastic tendencies*, is competent to the production of all the phenomena in nature.

This species of Atheism is sometimes called the Anaximandrian, after the name of its author. It has also been denominated the Hylopathian, from ὕλη (matter,) and πάθος, (an *affection*,) because it traces all the appearances in nature to spontaneously generated affections or modifications

\* In proof of this position, see Cudworth's Intellectual System, Book i. Chap. 4.

† The Pythagorean Sect, which was more ancient than the Ionic, was established in that part of Italy commonly called Grecia Magna.

of matter. The same form of Atheism was taught by Anaximenes, the successor of Anaximander, and by their joint influence was widely diffused.

The successor of Anaximenes was Anaxagoras. He had the wisdom to discover the lurking fallacy in the reasonings of his predecessors, and the firmness to expose and reject it. He introduced into his philosophy a distinct, intelligent cause of all things. Matter being, as he clearly saw, without life or motion, he concluded that there must have been, from eternity, an *intelligent principle*, an *infinite mind*, which, having the power of motion in itself, first imparted motion to the material mass and produced the different forms of nature. To Anaxagoras, therefore, belongs the credit of restoring to the Ionic School the pure light of Theism, after it had been obscured and lost by his immediate predecessors.

The Eleatic sect of philosophers belonged to the school of Pythagoras. The most of them were natives of Elia, a town of Magna Grecia, from which the sect derived its name. Among the teachers of this School, we find the second form of speculative Atheism which appeared in Greece. It originated with Leucippus and Democritus. It was afterwards embraced by Protagoras, who on account of it, was expelled from Athens, and his writings were burnt. These men were the advocates of pure *chance*. The universe, they taught, contained nothing but innumerable corpuscles, or material atoms of various figures, which, falling into the vacuum, struck against each other; and hence arose a variety of curvilinear motions, which continued, till at length atoms of similar forms met together, and bodies were produced. Or to describe the process in the expressive language of Cudworth: "Wherefore infinite atoms, of different sizes and figures, devoid of all life and sense, moving fortuitously from all eternity in infinite space, and making successively several encounters, and consequently various implexions and entanglements one with another, produced first a confused chaos of these omnifarious particles, jumbling together with an infinite variety of motions, which afterward, by the tugging of their different and contrary forces, whereby they all hindered and abated each other, came, as it were, by a joint conspiracy, to be conglomerated into a vortex, or vortices; where after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and essays, in which all manner of tricks were tried,



and all forms imaginable experimented, they *chanced*, in length of time, here to settle into this form and system of things which now is, of earth, water, air, and fire, sun, moon, and stars, planets, animals, and men; so that senseless atoms fortuitously moved, and material chaos, were the first original of all things."

These philosophers, we are told, had many disciples, and, strange as it may seem, the above was the more popular form of atheism, of which we have any account in ancient history. In the next century after it originated, it was taught with great success by Epicurus, and became one of the distinguishing characteristics of his school at Athens.

The Epicurean philosophy, and with it that form of Atheism of which I here speak, made their appearance at Rome in the later times of the republic, and were embraced by some of the more distinguished citizens; among whom were Piso, Atticus, and Pansa. The Epicurean system found an eloquent advocate in the poet Lucretius; who, with much accuracy and elegance, unfolded the doctrine in his celebrated poem, *de Rerum Natura*. The same doctrine afterwards numbered among its votaries the elder Pliny, Celsus, Lucian, and Diogenes Laertius.

The third in the succession from Aristotle in the Peripatetic school, was Strato of Lampsacus. He taught a peculiar kind of Atheism, which has been denominated, sometimes the Stratonian, from the name of its author, and sometimes the Hylozoic, from *ὑλη* *matter*, and *ζωή* *life*. He supposed every particle of matter to possess within itself an inherent principle of life and motion, though destitute of intelligence; which principle is the only cause of the production and dissolution of bodies. He denied that the world was created by the agency of a Deity distinct from matter, or by an intelligent, animating principle; asserting that it arose from a force or life innate to matter, and to every particle of it. This theory agrees with that first described, the Hylopathian, in representing matter as eternal; but differs from it, in that this ascribes a sort of animal though senseless life to each particle of matter, whereas that ascribed to matter in the general a plastic, generative tendency.

In the school of the Stoics, the intelligent mind was regarded as a celestial *ether* or *fire*, which pervaded the whole system, much as the soul of man does his body. Hence the

universe was thought to be a species of animal, of which the Deity was the forming, guiding, ruling principle. From this account of the God of the Stoics, it must be evident that there was a strong tendency in their system to gross and palpable Atheism; and this tendency ere long showed itself. There were those among the Stoics, who regarded the universe as more a vegetable than an animal, and the life by which it was pervaded and animated as rather a plastic, vegetative nature, than an intelligent, active spirit. Among these Pseudo-Atheistical Stoics are reckoned Boethus and the younger Pliny.

The Pyrrhonic philosophers cannot be regarded as positive Theists, or positive Atheists; because they were not positively any thing. They neither believed in the Divine existence, nor disbelieved it. They were universal sceptics. That every thing was to be considered as matter of doubt, was the only point about which they had no doubt.

Besides these philosophic Atheists, there have been in all ages, as Cudworth remarks, "other Atheists, who have not pretended to maintain any particular system or hypothesis in a way of reason, but entertained a dull and sottish, though confident disbelief of whatever they could not *see* or *feel*. "This kind of Atheist," he says, "may well be accounted enthusiastical or fanatical Atheists. Perhaps they may better be denominated *brute* Atheists, or *Asinus* Atheists; since, in point of stupidity, they may well vie with the long-eared animal by whose cognomen it is proposed to distinguish them.

We have seen that the form of Atheism which ascribes every thing to *chance*, was transplanted from Greece to Rome, and flourished there, under the patronage of the Epicureans. Probably the same may be said of most of the other forms of Atheism; though in regard to them, our information is not so definite. They originated among the philosophers of Greece; but when Grecian learning came to be cultivated at Rome, they were transferred, and cultivated with it.

Before dismissing the ancient Atheists, two general remarks may be made respecting them. In the first place, they were all of them *materialists*. They discarded not only the Divine existence, but the existence of angels, and of an immaterial soul or spirit. They held that there is no

such thing as spirit in the universe, that matter alone has existed from eternity, and that all the phenomena of nature, even those to which we attach the names of intelligence and will, are but different forms and modifications of matter.

In the second place, the ancient Atheists were all of them advocates, either of a strict physical *necessity* or of *chance*. In the theory of Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus all the changes which take place in the universe are the result of *chance*. They are to be accounted for, on the principle of chance. In the systems of the other Atheistic philosophers, every thing which transpires in the universe is controlled by a resistless *necessity* or *fate*. Man has no more freedom than a vegetable, or a stone; and is no more culpable for what are vulgarly called his sins, than the thornbush is for producing spines, or the crab-tree for growing crooked.

Of the moral tendencies of such forms of gross and fatal error, I need not now speak. They are known by their fruits. After Paganism had been supplanted and uprooted by Christianity, professed Atheism disappeared from the civilized world; and for several centuries, nothing was heard of it. If it existed at all, it was closely concealed, or was confined to the abodes of savages and heathens.

In the 13th century, complaint was made of Atheism as existing in Italy; but what form it assumed or to what extent it prevailed, we have not the means of judging. Considering the intolerable corruptions of Christianity at that period, it would not be strange if thinking men were repelled from it, and driven off into the vortex of Atheism. The high repute and authority of the Aristotelian philosophy may have been another cause of the unbelief complained of. Although Aristotle was not himself an Atheist, we have seen that Atheism sprang up in his school, and almost under his own eye, in Greece. Strato, the founder of one of the ancient forms of Atheism, was but the third in succession from Aristotle, in the Peripatetic school. It will not be thought strange, in view of this fact that at a time when the writings of Aristotle possessed at least an equal authority among professed Christians with the holy Scriptures, Atheism should make its appearance in the nominally Christian church.

Atheism appeared again in Italy, in the sixteenth century. Among its alleged advocates, were Peter Pompanatius, and

Stephen Dolet ; both of whom fell under the power of the inquisition, and the latter was put to death.

In the following century, Atheistical principles were disclosed in different parts of Europe.—In 1615, Cosmo Ruggeri, a Florentine and profligate, died at Paris, who confessed on his death-bed, that he regarded all that we are taught respecting a supreme Divinity, and evil spirits, as idle tales. In 1689, a Polish knight was put to death at Warsaw, under a charge of Atheism.

A few years previous to this, died the celebrated Spinoza, who is commonly represented as a Pantheist, but who (if his principles are correctly reported) was really an Atheist. Spinoza was by birth and education a Jew ; and was a great admirer of the Cartesian philosophy. He lived and died in Holland. He taught that “God and the universe are one and the same thing ; and that whatever takes place, arises out of the eternal and immutable laws of nature, which necessarily existed, and were active, from all eternity.” He says again, that “*nature itself is God* ; and by its inherent powers, necessarily produces its various movements.” A person holding such sentiments, may call himself Jew, or Pantheist, or what else he pleases ; he is in reality an Atheist.

Infidelity made its appearance in England in the sixteenth century ; but it had not become matured into the form of Atheism, before the middle of the seventeenth. Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury did not profess to be an Atheist ; yet he as well deserves the name, as some who have been more open in their professions. He “represents the human soul as material and mortal, discards all natural distinction between moral actions, and (keeping God quite out of sight) makes morality to depend entirely on the will of the civil monarch.” His example was followed by John Joland, who lived at about the same time with him. Joland published a work entitled *Pantheisticon*, in which he avows himself a favorer and admirer of the philosophy of Spinoza, which acknowledges no God but the universe.

From England, infidelity and Atheism were transported into France, in the early part of the eighteenth century. Voltaire, D’Alembert, and Diderot, assisted for a time by Frederic II. king of Prussia, entered into a secret combination to effect the overthrow of the Christian religion, and



with it all the established forms and institutions of civilized life. In their books, prepared for general circulation, and actually circulated to the widest extent possible, we find the following doctrines, some of them standing alone in their naked horrors, others surrounded by sophistry and meretricious ornaments, to entice the mind into their net, before it perceives their nature: "The universal Cause, the God of the Jews and Christians, is but a chimera and a phantom." "The phenomena of nature, so far from bespeaking a God, are but the necessary effects of matter prodigiously diversified." "It is more reasonable to admit, with Manes, a two-fold God, than the God of Christianity." "We cannot know whether a God really exists, or whether there is the smallest difference between good and evil, virtue and vice." "All ideas of justice and injustice, virtue and vice, glory and infamy, are purely arbitrary, and dependent on custom. Remorse of conscience is nothing but the foresight of those physical penalties to which our crimes expose us. The man who is above the law, can commit, without remorse, any dishonest act that may serve his purpose." "The fear of God, so far from being the beginning of wisdom, is the beginning of folly."

The above extracts from the correspondence and published writings of these men may suffice to show the nature and tendency of the dreadful system they had formed. At the same time, they, and others associated with them, were indefatigable in the diffusion of their principles. Their grand Encyclopedia was converted into an engine to serve this purpose. They poured forth tracts and books in great abundance, and by means of hawkers and pedlars, contrived to scatter them in all the provinces. By degrees, they got possession of nearly all the reviews and periodical publications. They instituted an office to supply schools with teachers. They acquired an unprecedented dominion over every species of literature, over the education of youth, and over the minds of all ranks of people, and thus prepared the way for those terrible scenes of revolution and bloodshed which were exhibited in France, towards the close of the century. "The miseries," says Dr. Dwight, "which were suffered by that single nation, in the course of a few years, have changed all the histories of the preceding sufferings of mankind into idle tales. They were enhanced and multi-

plied, without a precedent, and without end. The whole country seemed to be changed into one great prison; the inhabitants to be converted into felons; and the ordinary doom of man commuted for the violence of the sword, the bayonet, and the guillotine. It appeared for a season, as if the knell of the whole nation was tolled, and the world summoned to its execution, and its funeral. Within the space of ten years, not less than 3,000,000 of human beings are supposed to have perished, in that one country, through the influence of Atheism. Were the world in general to be guided and governed by the same principles, what crimes would not mankind perpetrate; what agonies would they not endure?"

The reign of Atheism and terror in France was short; but the consequences of it are likely to be long. The land is far from being purged at present, and whether it ever can be purged but by the slaughter of other millions—the pouring forth of additional rivers of blood, remains to be witnessed.

The Atheism of Germany is of another type from that of France. It is less open, less ferocious, but probably not less deeply seated, or less difficult to cure. It assumes rather the Pantheistic form; is concealed under the specious name of rationalism; and creeps unwarily, not only into the seat of science, but into the holier sanctuary of the church. Not a few of the professed teachers of religion in Germany, it may be feared, are Atheists.

The Atheism of America is almost entirely of foreign extraction. The poisonous seed has been brought here by unprincipled foreigners, who have planted and watered it, and waited till it has brought forth its bitter fruit.—The amount of Atheism in the United States, it may be feared, is not small. For the most part, however, it avoids the light. It seeks to hide its horrid features under some other profession or name.

The Atheism of modern times may be included, chiefly, under the four following theories or forms:

1. That of an *eternal series or succession of physical changes*. This theory assumes that the present order of things exists of necessity, and has existed from eternity, much as it now is. There has been the succession of the seasons, and of day and night; the composition and decom-

position of material substances ; the growth and decay of vegetables ; animals living and dying ; and all the phenomena of nature, in unbroken succession, and as the result of an inherent necessity, from all eternity.

2. The second form of Atheism is that of *specific tendencies*. This assumes that uncompounded, unorganized matter—matter in its *elements*, and this alone, has existed from eternity. But this unformed matter is endowed with *specific tendencies* ; one particle tending *necessarily* to unite with another, and these with a third, and so on, thus constituting compositions and organizations, as we see them actually existing in the world. This form of Atheism is very like the Hylopathian, which was the earliest theory on the subject, in ancient Greece.

3. The third class of modern Atheists may be ranked with the disciples of Democritus and Epicurus. They are the advocates of pure chance. There is nought in the universe but material atoms, whirling about through the immensity of space. In their endless convolutions, congenial atoms chance to be brought together ; and the existing organizations have thus been formed.

4. The fourth form of Atheism, existing in our own times, is the *pantheistic* or *transcendental*. And this it is not easy to describe, owing to the mystical, unintelligible phraseology in which (whether designedly or not) the doctrine is inculcated. It may be concluded, however, in view of all that has been written on the subject, that the advocates of this theory mean to say, that what we call God is not a distinct, intelligent Being, a *person*, but rather a *personification*, a *figure of speech*. There is no God distinct from nature. The powers and laws of nature *personified* embrace all that can be philosophically included under the notion of a God.

It is no part of my present object to *refute* either of the foregoing forms of Atheism. I merely state them, for the information of readers, leaving the consideration of them to their own mind.

It may be remarked of modern Atheists as it was of the ancient, that they are all of them *materialists* ; and are all the advocates, either of *fortuity* or *necessity, chance* or *fate*. Indeed, I do not think it possible that any form of speculative Atheism can be devised, which shall not assume this general feature ;—which shall not fall under the one or the other of these categories.

The *causes* of Atheism, in different minds, and in different ages of the world, have been various. Some have been led to deny the Divine existence, on account of the seeming *inequalities* and *disorders* in providence. Thus it is said of Diagoras, that the unfaithfulness of a friend, and the calamities of his country, so perplexed and distressed his mind, as to lead him first to doubt, and afterwards to discard, the notion of a superintending Divinity.

The enormous *absurdity of prevailing superstitions* has in frequent instances, led to the rejection of all religion, even in its most necessary truths.

An affectation of *singularity*, or the refinements of a false and seductive *philosophy*, has plunged many into the gulf of Atheism.

The same effect may have been produced or accelerated, in particular instances, by the *inconclusive reasoning* of the advocates of religion. An inquisitive mind, discovering some two or three of the arguments urged in favor of the Divine existence to be unsound, concludes that they are all of the same character, and rejects the idea of a God, as one that does not admit of being sustained by reason.

But the grand cause of Atheism, without doubt, is a *sinful heart*, and a *wicked life*. Living as most men do, they are *afraid* of God. "They do not *like* to retain God in their knowledge." They *wish* there was no God. And with a perverse ingenuity, they undertake to drive God out of his own dominions, and to exclude the belief of him from their own minds, and from the world.

Of the *moral results* of Atheism, it is not necessary here to speak. They have been fully and fearfully developed, both in ancient and modern times. They have been seen to be just what might have been anticipated. I do not say that every Atheist that has ever lived has been a corrupt and vicious man; though I know not but even this might be said with truth. But if the lives of any have not been vicious—if they have been virtuous and amiable; they have been so, not in consequence of their Atheism, but in spite of it. They have been so fortified by considerations of another kind, that their Atheism could not ruin them.

It has been often and truly said of Atheism, that a wise man could not embrace it, if he would; and he would not, if he could. The doctrine is as undesirable, as it is preposterous and absurd. Who would not prefer to live in a



world, that was under the control of infinite perfection—of infinite wisdom, power, and love, rather than be bound in the chains of a blind and resistless fatality, or be the sport of a still blinder chance? Surely none but the *fool*—the fool intellectually, or morally, or both—could ever find it in his heart to say, *there is no God*.

## ARTICLE V.

### REMARKS ON FRENCH PREACHING. REVIEW OF SERMONS OF REV. J. J. AUDEBEZ.

By the Rev. Robert Baird, Paris, France.

1. *La Cène du Seigneur, deux Sermons sur 1re aux Corinth. xi. 23—29. Prêchés, le premier le 7, le second le 21 Décembre 1834, à l'occasion de la communion célébrée pour la première fois dans la Chapelle Taitbout, à Paris. Par J. J. Audebez, l'un des pasteurs des Chapelles du Culte Protestant non-Salarié par l'Etat.*

2. *L'Enfant de la Prophétie, on l'Agneau de Dieu qui ôte le péché du monde. Six Sermons, cinq sur Esaie, ix. 5.—Un sur Jean, 1, 29.—Par J. J. Audebez, l'un des pasteurs des Chapelles du culte Protestant non-salarié par l'Etat, à Paris.*

3. *Sermons sur divers textes de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, dédiés à l'église chrétienne Réformée de Nérac. Par J. J. Audebez, ancien pasteur de cette église, et actuellement pasteur à Paris.*

*"Prechs la parole, insiste en tempo et hors de temps."—2 Timothée iv. 2.*

THE French language is far from being rich in sacred literature. In comparison with the vast theological stores which are accumulated in the English and German languages, those which are to be found in the French are exceedingly meagre.

And yet in one department of sacred literature the French have some authors of great excellence in many respects. We mean in that of sermons or popular discourses. The sweet sermons of Fenelon are worthy of many a perusal. Those of Bourdoulon contain many excellent things. Those of Massillon are too well known by every lover of pulpit eloquence to need any eulogy from us. The same remark

may be made respecting the grand and elaborate discourses of Bossuet. Whilst those of Fléchier, especially his funeral addresses, will never cease to be read so long as impassioned eloquence shall continue to be admired. These were great classic authors of sermons, of the Roman Catholic school, in the XVII and XVIIIth centuries. Since that time this school has produced nothing that possesses extraordinary merit in the shape of sermons. We do not mean to assert that there have not been published a considerable number of discourses, possessing no little merit, within the last fifty years. But what we mean, is that the more modern productions, from this source, will not compare with those of the great authors, mentioned above.

On the other hand, the Protestants have produced but few authors of sermons of great merit. Saurin, Claude, and some others of their older authors were certainly men of fine talents, and their discourses are valuable. But these are not sufficient to vindicate the honor of the denomination to which they belonged on this point. But if the Protestants of France have not had so many able authors of sermons as their Catholic brethren, it has not been so much from want of talented men among them, as from want, in former times especially, of equal literary advantages, and, above all, from want of leisure to prepare elaborate discourses.

During the long periods of oppression and persecution through which they were called to pass,—when they had not one classical or theological college which they could call their own,—they were too poor and destitute of advantages to do more than to endeavor to prepare their candidates by a very brief and imperfect training for the sacred office, which they were seeking, and which they must exercise, very often, with much risk of life, and always with the certainty of being rewarded with poverty!

But, thanks be unto God! The revival of evangelical religion in the Protestant churches in France and Switzerland bids fair to supply, in our days, the deficiency of that church in the past, so far as it relates to this department of sacred literature. Already have a number of most excellent preachers been raised up who have published many sermons of great value. One of these is the Rev. J. J. Audebez, whose published discourses we propose to review in a cursory manner. At a future time, if God permit, we shall call

the attention of our readers to some of the other excellent and able evangelical French preachers whose printed sermons have reached us.

But before we proceed to consider the Discourses of M. Audebez, which form the theme of this review, it may not be amiss to make a few remarks on the characteristics of the pulpit eloquence of the evangelical French preachers of our times. In doing this we shall not limit our observations to their sermons, but also extend them to their prayers.

1. It may be mentioned as a characteristic of evangelical French preachers, that their sermons are almost always of a very moderate length. It is seldom that they exceed forty-five minutes. We never heard one—and we have heard many—which exceeded an hour. Their prayers, too, are uniformly short, very simple, and direct. And here we may say that the order of the service in the Reformed French Churches, (and the same order prevails in the Churches of the Augsburg Confession, or Lutheran Denomination), is as follows. 1. The invocation of the blessing of God on the service. 2. The reading of the Ten Commandments. 3. The Confession, a beautiful prayer, which is read in all their churches. It is taken from their Liturgy. It is, as its title indicates, a confession of sin. It is short, simple, and we think superior to the Confession in the Liturgy of the Episcopal service, beautiful as that is. 4. The singing of a hymn. And here we may remark that though the French language is far from abounding in good hymns, yet it contains some excellent ones, and the number has been much increased of late by the efforts of the Rev. Dr. Malan and others. 5. The reading of a portion of the Scriptures. 6. An extemporary prayer. 7. The sermon. 8. A hymn. 9. A prayer,—usually taken from the Liturgy, and embraces petitions for the king and queen, the other members of the royal family, and the officers and members of the government in general. 10. The Benediction; which is followed by a word of exhortation to the people to remember the *poor*, as they retire. This leads to a collection for their benefit, which is made by depositing, by all who choose to give any thing, their contributions in boxes at the doors of the church.

This is a brief view of the order of the services which is usually followed in the Protestant churches and chapels in France. We have often been struck with the just symmetry

which prevails in all their public services. Prayers, hymns, and sermons are almost always of about the proper length, And the whole order of exercises is gone through with so much promptitude and vivacity that there is seldom room for ennui.

2. A second characteristic of evangelical French preaching is *simplicity of style*. The sermons of the greater part, by far, of the evangelical ministers of France are distinguished by a freedom of useless repetitions, and from any thing approaching to what may be called grandiloquence. This is far from being the case with French writers in other departments of literature. On the contrary, it is a fault which is exceedingly common among them, to indulge in pompous and airy descriptions, in conceits, and in *bons mots*, which render the style obscure, and destroy its simplicity. But though this fault is of frequent occurrence among writers of France, it cannot be charged upon the evangelical preachers of that country. On the contrary, their sermons are clothed in a singular and beautiful simplicity of style. Nothing superfluous, nothing forced or unnatural appears in them.

3. A third characteristic of evangelical preaching is what may be called *directness of style*. By this we mean that the sentiment or idea which the speaker or writer wishes to express is set forth in as few words as possible. The best French writers have very much of this quality of style, and express their meaning with almost epigrammatic brevity. There is great beauty in this, if it be not carried too far. Nothing suits the French nature better than to express an idea with such brevity and concentrated force that it may strike upon the mind with the unexpected suddenness and force of a flash of lightning. There is a good deal of this directness in the style of the best French preachers, though it is not usually in their case carried so far as to have the appearance of being the result of a studied effort as it so often and so obviously is in the case of many other writers.

4. The fourth characteristic of evangelical French preaching is what the French call *onction*. It is not very easy to give the reader a definite idea of the meaning of the word *onction*, when thus employed. As the word in its original sense, denotes "ointment," and the "act of anointing," it would seem difficult to trace any analogy between its meaning and any conceivable character of eloquence, unless it be that of *smooth-*



ness, which is far from being the idea which the French attach to their word *onction*, as applied to speaking or preaching. By *onction*, they seem to mean that characteristic of preaching which consists very much in a solemn and yet persuasive tone of voice, united with a sort of holy, and rather formal gesturing, which whilst it excites an attention nearly allied to awe, soothes and leads the mind to devotion. They invariably include, however, the idea that the preaching is *powerful*, and full of *feeling*. And perhaps this is the prominent idea which they now attach to the word,—not excluding that of a holy solemnity in matter and manner, which is well fitted to lead to serious emotions.

Taking the word *onction* in the sense which we have just attempted to give to it, we think that the French preachers, have more of what it imports than any other preachers whom we have ever heard. This remark is applicable to the unevangelical as well as evangelical ministers. In some cases, they have a manner of utterance so studied and slow, especially at the commencement of the services of the pulpit, that it is drawling, and in fact disagreeable. The preachers who fall into this fault almost invariably have a formal and in some degree affected manner of gesture, such as slowly elevating the hands, and stretching them out to the utmost extent and keeping them long in that position, in prayer, and frequently giving to their fingers, and even the whole hand, a vibratory motion which resembles trembling, at the moment when they pronounce some important word in a slow tone and with such an abundance of the circumflex accent, as to produce a thrilling impression on the hearer. But the greater part of them have a good degree of simplicity in their manner of speaking, and do not offend against correct taste by that studied solemnity which has just been described.

It may be said that *pathos*, or the exhibition of deep emotion, characterizes French preaching to a greater degree than it does English or American preaching. Few French preachers fail to excite more or less of emotion in the minds of their hearers, in almost every discourse which they deliver. By the use of touching expressions, pronounced in tones of voice fitted to excite feeling, and united with an appearance of countenance and a manner of gesture which indicate emotion on the part of the speaker, they seldom fail of kindling

in the bosoms of their excitable auditors the sentiments and emotions which the nature of the subject is calculated to produce. We have known French preachers who are far from being evangelical in their doctrines, who possess so much of *pathos* in their delivery ; who manifest so much emotion themselves—and who adopt a manner of speaking of Christ which so nearly approaches that which is evangelical—that they make the impression on every stranger who is imperfectly acquainted with their characters, and with the French language, that they are persons of eminent piety and zeal ! And all this is merely an effect of their manner of speaking. The evangelical ministers of France, so far as we have heard them, seem to have attained great propriety in their speaking, having enough of *onction* and *pathos*, and at the same time, that beautiful simplicity of manner which accompanies unaffected sincerity.

The French preachers of the present day preserve the manner of composing their sermons which the preachers of the olden times in France followed. Like them, they, almost invariably, after pronouncing a suitable introduction, pause and utter a short prayer for the blessing of God on the discussion of the subject which is to be presented in the following portion of the discourse. To one who is not accustomed to it, this appears remarkable ; but it soon becomes a very agreeable interruption to the current of the sermon. It requires some tact to make it in such a variety of ways as not to prove monotonous and formal. We will add, that the majority of French ministers write their sermons with care, and very many of them commit them to memory, and speak either with or without their notes before them.

5. The last characteristic of evangelical French preaching which we would speak of, is that which may be termed *biblical*. The French preachers of this school possess this important quality of good preaching to a very high degree. They aim at giving simply the mind of the Spirit. “ Thus saith the Lord,” is the burden of their discourses. They are not given to the vain speculations of a “ philosophy falsely so called.”—On the contrary, their sermons are generally distinguished for simple and common-sense expositions of the doctrines of the sacred Scriptures. The discussions which they contain are fine specimens of sound reasoning. It is rare to find them venturing upon subjects respecting

which Revelation is silent, or such as manifestly transcend the powers of the human mind. In this respect they differ widely from their neighbors on the other side of the Rhine. Whilst it is next to an impossibility to find a German, even among those who are evangelical on all the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel,—who is fully brought to give up the attempt to interpret the Scriptures by his philosophy, the Frenchman who has “put on Christ,” is distinguished for the docility with which he submits his mind and will to what God has revealed. And this is the glory of the evangelical Protestant Church of France, and has been, ever since the days of the Reformation. Let any man read the writings of Calvin, of Theodore Beza, of Basnage, of Claude, of Taurin, who were natives of France ; or of Viret and Pictet, and F. Turretin, who were natives of the French part of Switzerland, and he will be abundantly convinced of what we here assert.

But it is time that we call the attention of our readers to the excellent author of the sermons, whose titles we have given at the head of this article.

The Rev. J. J. Audebez, who is at present one of the little band of evangelical French ministers of the Gospel at Paris, is a native of the South of France. For several years he preached at Nerac, a small city at no great distance from Bordeaux. Of late years, however, he has preached in two independent chapels in Paris, which are maintained by the voluntary contributions of a number of French Christians. In this work, he was for three or four years, aided by the Rev. M. Grand Pierre, who is the Director, (as the French call him), or Professor in the Missionary Seminary at Paris, in which young Frenchmen are trained up for the work in heathen lands. During the last two years, M. Grand Pierre has been compelled by his numerous duties in the Seminary, to give up preaching in the chapels, at least as a regular service. In consequence of this, Mr. Audebez has become the sole preacher in these two places of worship. In one—the chapel in the *Rue Taitbout*,—he preaches every Sabbath at 11 o'clock. This chapel will hold about five hundred people. It was here that the St. Simonians enacted their buffooneries in their brief day. Their lease of this place was purchased by some evangelical Christians about six years ago. We are happy to say that this place is ordinarily well filled with



an attentive congregation on the Sabbath morning. On the Sabbath and Wednesday evenings Mr. Audebez preaches in the other chapel, which is in the *Rue St. Maur*, in the Faubourg du Temple, one of the very worst parts of Paris—a faubourg which attained a horrible notoriety in the First Revolution. Here Mr. A. preaches to a congregation of nearly two hundred people, the greater part of whom, five years ago, were Roman Catholics. We may remark, here, that this chapel is in a large establishment which the friends of evangelical religion have erected for the Christian instruction of the children and adults of the surrounding population. In that establishment about *one thousand* children and adults are now taught, upon truly Christian principles. The blessing of God has rested largely upon this important undertaking.

Mr. Audebez is one of a considerable number of ministers in the established Protestant Churches in France who entered the ministry without a saving knowledge of the truth, and who have since, through the grace of the Saviour been made to experience its power. May the number of such increase until *all* the six hundred Protestant ministers of France belonging to the two denominations connected with the government (the *Reformed* and the *Lutheran*—the latter is commonly called in France the *Church of the Augsburg Confession*), shall become men of like spirit and like usefulness.

We are disposed to believe, however, that our readers will be more interested in learning the most important facts of Mr. Audebez's life, as well as his own views of the Gospel, from a statement which is contained in the preface of his last published volume, than any thing which we could say from personal knowledge. We will, therefore, translate this statement, which is in the form of an address to the Reformed Church at Nérac, of which Mr. A. was for several years pastor.

“BELOVED CHURCH.—In dedicating to thee this volume of Sermons, I do not merely satisfy the desires of my heart ; I perform a duty which I owe to thee.

“Thou hast a particular and imprescriptable right to that which I may be allowed to undertake for the edification of the people of God. For it was for thee, first of all, and in the midst of thee, that He called me by the only efficacious vocation,—that of his Holy Spirit,—to the work of the Ministry of the Gospel.

“It is true that on the 26th July, 1812, I received the im-



position of hands at Montauban, in the solemn scene which took place, in that city, for the consecration of the seven first pupils who went forth from the Faculty of Theology, which we have the precious hope of seeing continue to flourish. It is true that the numerous pastors there assembled, on that occasion, conferred upon me the title of Minister of Jesus Christ, and with it the right to fulfil all its functions. But what is the work of man, in this respect, if it be not preceded, or immediately followed by the work of God in the heart? I had received the title of "Master in Israel, and yet knew not these things." That is to say,—constituted by man "an Ambassador for Christ," I knew not the Master whom I was charged to serve; and having sworn to preach Christianity, I was ignorant of its first elements, even of that which constitutes its basis, its power, its life! Reminiscence not less painful than humiliating!

"When, in November, 1817, I was nominated one of thy pastors, beloved Church, I was yet like those prophets of whom it is said in Jeremiah, "in them the word of the Lord was not;" or like those of whom it is said; "I have not sent them and they have runned; I have not spoken to them, and they have prophesied." Also, during the space of five years, in the midst of thee, I "darkened the counsel of God by words without understanding." And it was only the pure grace of God which prevented me, "a blind leader of the blind," from falling, with thy children, into the ditch!

"Finally, the year 1822 arrived, the most memorable, the most happy of my life, since it was the epoch determined, according to the purpose of the Eternal, in which to reveal to me the looks of pity which he bestowed upon thee and upon me! Then it was that He deigned to show to me my profound misery, and to make me comprehend that, destitute of the "Spirit of Christ, I was none of his." Then it was that I felt that I could not escape either from the view or the judgment of my Creator. My conscience having recovered life, repeated to me from day to day, and from hour to hour, without ceasing, that the Most High "beset me behind and before, and that He had laid his hand upon me." From that time I had neither truce nor repose. Night and day during the space of three months, I believed that the "bands of death encompassed me, and the pains of hell gat hold of me; I found trouble and sorrow."

"But forever blessed be the God of everlasting compas-

sion! It was by making the lightnings of Sinai flash into the bottom of my soul that he prepared it for the speedy entrance of the sweet rays of the Gospel. After having prostrated me by the thunders of the law, he deigned to stretch out his hand and raise me up by the assurances of his grace.

"On the twenty-second day of the month of June,\* I learned, I believed, and I felt for the first time that, "he who believes on the Son has life everlasting;" and that same day 'my sadness was changed into joy, and my tears into a song of rejoicing.' So sweet is it to know by experience that God is our Saviour!

"From that moment, beloved Church, I became thy devoted friend, thy sincere pastor. From that moment, the souls of thy children were in my eyes of infinite price. Nothing was so dear to my heart as to show them where I had found repose and life. Amidst much contradiction from the part of the world with which thou wast oppressed, it was mercifully granted me to announce without cessation, 'Jesus Christ and Jesus Christ crucified.' And thou hast not forgotten how that whilst I did not cease to repeat to thee that 'this is a faithful saying and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners, of whom I am chief,' many of thine 'passed from darkness to light,' and 'rejoice believing in God.'

"From that epoch, date the intimate relations which bound me to thee, and which bound thee to me. These multiplied relations, developed and strengthened during a ministry of nearly nine years,† which the Lord manifestly deigned to bless, notwithstanding my infirmities, are bonds which owe nothing to flesh. They have endured the trial of time, of

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\* The precision of this date cannot surprise any one, if he will reflect that the state of peace on which the author states that he entered that day, had been preceded by three months of distressing alarms. The difference between darkness and light is too great to allow any one who has the happiness to have passed thus suddenly from the former into the latter, to lose an exact and constant remembrance of it.

† Although he was nominally pastor of the Church at Nerac about fourteen years, the author does not reckon the period of his ministry but from the epoch of his conversion, regarding as miserably lost the four years and a half which preceded it.

separation, of distance. Death itself cannot break them, for it is love which has formed them, and 'love, (charity,) the true bond of perfectness, never faileth.'

"Here, beloved Church, are the reasons why I dedicate to thee this collection of sermons. They belong to thee of right. I was thy pastor before I fulfilled that office elsewhere, and I re-experience still all the feelings of that relation. May they be a proof of my remembrance of thee, and as it were a new attestation that thou art not straitened in my heart. May they serve to draw together more closely, if possible, the bonds of our mutual communion in the faith in Jesus Christ, 'who first loved us.'

"May they contribute to render more lively and efficacious the remembrance of the Gospel which I have preached to thee; and which thou hast received, in which thou dost persevere, and by which thy members, sincerely converted, are saved.

"And may they, being read by those of thy children who stand on thine external wall, (*avant-mur*,) or who have not yet passed thy courts, prove a blessing to them, and contribute to cause them to advance into thy sanctuary, and prostrate themselves before the Propitiatory, the only basis of thy peace.

"Finally, may it please God also to employ them for the purpose of doing much good to the inhabitants of this happy country, who profess not our form of worship. They have a great share in my Christian affection, and it is sweet to me to comprehend them in the heritage of the Lord, if they call upon His name in sincerity. Should it happen that any of them read these discourses, may they find in them true edification, be excited to search diligently the word of God, contained only in the Bible, and abide in the conviction that, 'in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.'

"I have expressed to thee, beloved Church, my desires, and the object which I have in view in the publication of this volume of sermons. It is from God our Saviour that I implore and expect success. 'Paul may plant, Apollos may water, but it is God that giveth the increase.'

"I cannot terminate this letter without adding one word. I know that for thee it is superfluous; but it is not so for others.

“If it were necessary, I think that the contents of this volume would convince thee that, in changing the field of labor,\* I have not changed the doctrines which I preach. Disciple of Him who is the ‘same yesterday to-day and forever,’ I bless Him for it. My principles are established and unchangeable. But it is not only my faith and my hopes which remain the same; my views respecting the order and government of the Church remain the same also. Above all, I am of the Church of Jesus Christ, which I behold every where where I see Christians, no matter what may be the denomination which they have adopted or received. I love, I embrace cordially, all, whoever they may be, who confess that Jesus is the true God, the only Saviour of sinners; and I am prepared to unite with them in laboring for the triumph of the Gospel.

“But the particular Church to which I am most attached, to which I belong in life and death, is that in which I was born, and in which God has deigned to baptize me with the baptism of his Spirit: it is that good old Reformed Church of France, long anterior in existence to the 18 Germinal in the year X,† of which one may be a member, and which one may serve, without receiving a salary from the State. It is of a portion of that Church, so long and so richly blessed of Heaven, that I am to day pastor, as I was when I fulfilled the pastoral functions with thee.

“And now, beloved Church, adieu! I salute all thy children, my brethren and my friends.

“I salute thine Elders and thy two faithful Pastors, whom

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\* To second the Christian zeal of some friends, who desired to make trial of the full liberty of worship which the Revolution of July had just confirmed, was the motive which led the author to Paris, in August, 1830. Four months afterwards, when he had returned to Nerac, the same friends invited him to come and perform the office of pastor in the Chapels *Taitbout* and *Saint-Maur*, which he had the happiness to open; he believed it to be his duty to accept the invitation. In these two chapels he has, since the month of March 1831, exercised his ministry, in connexion with his beloved colleague, the Rev. Mr. Grandiene.

† The epoch of the restoration of Christianity to France by Napoleon, and the establishment of the Catholic and Protestant Churches on the same footing.



I tenderly love, and with whose labors I associate myself in spirit.

“I commend you all to God, and to the word of his grace, who is able to build you up and to give you an inheritance among the saints.

“My brethren, pray for me, as I do for you.”

The preceding extracts taken from the Preface to the last publication which Mr. Audebez has made, give the reader the most material facts in relation to the history of that excellent man, as well as a correct idea of his simple and profound piety and of his fervent zeal in the cause of his Master.

Besides the publications which we have placed at the head of this article, Mr. Audebez has written some other things of interest, especially to Christians in his own country. One of these is an excellent letter to a Roman Catholic Priest of the name of Pouget, which treats in an able manner, 1. Of the Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, in opposition to the System of the Romish Church. 2. Of the Vocation, Ordination, and Mission of Protestant pastors, against the pretensions of the same Church.

Of the publications of Mr. Audebez, which we have placed at the head of this article, the first named consists of two valuable sermons on the *Lord's Supper*. These Sermons contain many excellent remarks in relation to that delightful ordinance, and abound in very sweet and edifying sentiments, the spontaneous effusions of a heart deeply imbued with the love of Christ.

The second of these publications consists of six excellent discourses on Christ as the *Child of Prophecy, and the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world*.

But the largest and most important of all, and the last in order of publication, is a volume of sermons on various texts, delivered, as the others were, at sundry times in the two Chapels in which Mr. Audebez ministers at Paris. These discourses are twenty in number, and are all well worthy of being read by those who seek for the truth, presented in a most beautiful and simple manner. We give the titles of these sermons in the order in which they stand in the volume, and subjoin a translation of them in a note.

1. La Divinité du Christianisme démontré par son établissement et la rapidité de ses triomphés. Actes 5: 39.

2. La conduite de l'homme envers Dieu, et la conduite de Dieu envers l'homme. Apocal 3 : 20.
3. Vraie manière d'entendre la voix de Dieu et de lui ouvrir la porte. Apocal. 3 : 20.
4. L'entrée de Jésus-Christ chez le pécheur et le souper qu'il fait avec lui. Apocal. 3 : 20.
5. Le geolier de Philippes interrogeant Paul et Silas. Actes 16 : 30.
6. La réponse de Paul et Silas au geolier de Phillippes. Actes 16 : 30.
7. La loi morale affermie par la foi. Romains 3 : 30.
8. Les conditions de l'alliance de grace. Marc 8 : 34.
9. Le joug de Jésus-Christ. Matthieu 11 : 30.
10. Le culte du vrai Chrétien opposé au culte du formaliste. Jean 4 : 24.
11. La Predication de la croix. 1 Corinth. 2 : 2.
12. La croix, seul fondement de la gloire du Chretien. Galates 6 : 14.
13. Les impressions religieuses inefficaces. Actes 26 : 28.
14. L'indécision religieuse. 1 Rois 18 : 21.
15. L'exercice de la présence de dieu. Psaume 16, 8.
16. Moyens de conserver le sentiment de la présence de Dieu. Psaume 16 : 8.
17. Nouvelle naissance. Jean 3 : 7.
18. La promesse du Saint-Esprit. Actes 2 : 39.
19. Devoir d'examiner si on est dans la foi. 2 Corinth. 13 : 5.
20. Le bonheur immédiat de ceux qui meurent au Seigneur. Apocal. 14 : 13.\*

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- \* 1. *The divine nature of Christianity demonstrated by its establishment and by the rapidity of its triumphs.* Acts 5 : 39.
2. *The conduct of man towards God, and the conduct of God towards man.* Rev. 3 : 20.
3. *The true manner of hearing the voice of God, and of opening the door to Him.* Rev. 3 : 20.
4. *The entrance of Jesus Christ into the sinner, and his supping with him.* Rev. 3 : 20.
5. *The jailer of Philippi interrogating Paul and Silas.* Acts 16 : 30.
6. *The answer of Paul and Silas to the jailer of Philippi.* Acts 16 : 30.
7. *The Moral Law confirmed by Faith.* Rom. 3 : 30.

We hardly know where the reader could find twenty more edifying sermons than those which this volume contains. They are all good. Some of them are remarkably fine specimens of a most happy tact for exhibiting in few words, and in a most perspicuous style, the real meaning of a passage of the Sacred Scriptures. We had the privilege of hearing most of these discourses preached. And we can never forget the unassuming and earnest manner of the preacher, nor the impressions which many of them manifestly made on his auditory. The sermon on the *Influence of the presence of God*, in particular, produced as great a visible effect upon those that heard it as any thing that we have ever heard in any country or in any language. We have a most vivid recollection of the profound attention, and great feeling which a member of the *Legion of Honor* and his wife, who sat immediately in front of us, and who heard on that occasion, the first Gospel sermon which they had ever heard in their lives, and which was greatly blessed to them.

It was our intention, when we commenced this article, to give some extracts from these Sermons of Mr. Audebez. But we have concluded to consider what we have written as sufficient for one article, and to give it rather as an introduction to other notices of discourses of living French preachers, which, if God permit, we intend to submit to the

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8. *The conditions of the Covenant of Grace.* Mark 8 : 34.
  9. *The yoke of Jesus Christ.* Matth. 11 : 30.
  10. *The worship of the true Christian contrasted with that of the formalist.* John 4 : 24.
  11. *The preaching of the Cross.* 1 Cor. 2 : 2.
  12. *The cross, sole foundation of the Christian's glorying.* Gal. 6 : 14.
  13. *Inefficacious religious impressions.* Acts 26 : 28.
  14. *Indecision in religion.* 1 Kings 18 : 21.
  15. *Influence of the presence of God.* Psalms 16 : 8.
  16. *Means of preserving the sense of the presence of God.* Psalms 18 : 8.
  17. *The New Birth.* John 3 : 7.
  18. *The promise of the Holy Spirit.* Acts 2 : 39.
  19. *The duty of self-examination.* 2 Cor. 13 : 5.
  20. *The immediate happiness of those who die in the Lord.* Rev. 14 : 13.

readers of these pages. As Evangelical Religion advances in France and Switzerland it enlists and calls forth talents of no mean order. Already there are such men as Messrs. Grand Pierre, Audebez, the Monods (Frederick, and Adolphus), Félice (correspondent to the N. Y. Observer, and Professor in the Theological Seminary at Montaubau), Merle d'Aubigne, Gaussen, Verny, Vinet, and others who would do honor to the pulpit of any country. All of those who have been just named are authors, and some of them have earned a high reputation as such, in their own country. At a future day we hope to make them better known on this side of the water, at least to those who read the pages of this Review.\*

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\* The discourses of Mr. Audebez, enumerated at the commencement of the preceding article, are for sale at the Bookstore of Mr. John S. Taylor, in New York. We hope that not a few of those of the readers of this review who can read French, will purchase them, not only for the benefit which they may derive from a perusal of them, but also for the sake of the excellent author, who has a large family to support, on a very moderate salary, and to whose education the proceeds of these publications are devoted.

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## ARTICLE VI.

### DUTIES OF A THEOLOGIAN.

By Rev. Edwards A. Park, Bartlett Prof. Sac. Rhet., Theol. Sem., Andover, Mass.

THE whole amount of influence, which ministers of the Gospel exert upon the community, cannot be ascertained. We can not measure all the good they do, nor all the evil they prevent. Yet so great is their number, so commanding their character, and so important are the stations they occupy in the pulpit and in the academical chair, that it is not invidious to pronounce them the most useful of all public servants. Their good influence is seen in the physical, the intellectual, the social, the moral, and the religious condition of the people. The means of this influence is Christian



Truth. This truth is instinct with life and power, and penetrates into the hidden places of the soul's strength. The nature of this truth, then, its tendencies and the modes of applying it should be diligently scrutinized. The more potent the lever for the moving of the world, so much the more needful to learn what it demands for its most effective use. The duty of ministers in relation to their parochial charge has been frequently discussed; not so frequently their duty in reference to theological truth. The design of the present article is, to consider some of the duties of a theologian, *as a theologian*, as distinct from a mere pastor or preacher. The duties of a theologian are the more important, as those of a pastor and preacher result and may be inferred from them.

One of these duties is, to pay a rational regard to the opinions which have been entertained by Christians in past times. It is idle to attempt the extirpation of any sentiment, that is essential to man as a complete man. The love of novelty, when too far indulged, may form a fickle and vain character; but in its legitimate influence it favors enterprise and progress. The sentiment of veneration for antiquity may be abused so as to cause a stagnation of spirit, but it may and should be used so as to produce stability and weight of character. We should leave the two sentiments to balance each other; should keep them in a healthy state, and subservient to a higher principle than either,—the love of the true and the good.

It is natural for man to speak the truth; it is equally natural to believe what others say. The principle of veracity is met and answered by the principle of faith; and as the veracity of man is found to be imperfect, so his faith in testimony must be correspondently modified. We should give most credence to such witnesses as have the best means for knowing the truth, and the purest desire of stating it. Hence we listen with deference to the voice of the faithful in all past ages respecting the fundamental principles of Christianity. It is not to be believed that the great body of pious men, desiring to learn what these principles are, enjoying the requisite powers and opportunities for learning them, sending up frequent entreaty for the teachings of the Holy One, having such near access in earlier times to the personal instruction of inspired guides, should have united, notwith-

standing their numerous and diverse peculiarities, in a false estimate of the very genius of theology. The total depravity of the heart by nature, the need and the fact of regeneration by the Holy Ghost, our dependence on the Atonement of an Almighty Saviour, doctrines set forth so prominently as these on the sacred page, and falling so directly under the cognizance of Christian feeling, can not have been radically misunderstood by the mass of believers. It is then a filial duty of the modern theologian to address himself with fresh ardor to the writings of the fathers, and to derive from them a strengthened assurance in their and our fundamental faith.

But it is also his duty to discriminate between their authority in regard to an essential doctrine, and their authority in regard to an unessential one, or to a refined speculation. In our zeal against the Catholics we would not reprobate indiscriminately the standards on which they rely; for we depend in a measure on the same: and yet we recognize no obligation, like that pretended by the Oxford divines, to submit our faith on obscure and subordinate points to the dicta of any uninspired men, however ancient, however unanimous. We have heard too much of the real presence, of baptismal regeneration, of praying for the dead, to justify an implicit adoption even of the earliest human creeds. There are theories of doctrine more recondite and less distinctly revealed than the doctrine itself; they are not to be decided by the religious feeling, the authority of which is always venerable; their proof depends on a scientific discipline, such as the fathers never had, and on a minute analysis such as they had not the ability to perform. They lived before the rational processes of induction and the fundamental laws of belief had been very distinctly explained; they lived when the world was young, we live when it has grown mature; they are the youths of the world's history, we are the hoary headed men; and for us, after the experience of centuries, to go back to the infancy of time that we may learn the refinements of philosophy, is like a parent sitting at his child's feet, and asking questions that only a man can answer. "Although," says Bacon, "the position be good, 'oportet discentem credere,' yet it must be coupled with this, 'oportet edoctum judicare.'"\*

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\* On the reverence due to antiquity, see Bacon's Works, Vol. 2, pp. 45, 46, 383, 384.

The theologian must also discriminate between the authority of *the mass* of believers and the authority of a few leading minds. We only impose on ourselves when we quote the decisions of the whole church respecting this or that metaphysical subtilty. The whole church never examined it, never held an intelligent opinion concerning it. It has always been the prerogative of but few men to search for the hidden principles of things. To only three or four high-aiming intellects in as many ages has it been given of God to rise above the confiding assent of the vulgar, and to look with naked eye upon the mysteries of doctrine. The mass of men have ever followed some independent thinker; they have believed what they were told, and like gregarious animals have gone where they were led. Nor have the mass of writers, ancient or modern, been quickened with the pure desire to see every fact just as it is. Their aim has been, not to learn the eternal principle, but to gather arguments for the belief of some intellectual master. The bent of all, save an elect few, has been toward partizanship, rather than toward truth; supporting a dogma rather than inquiring for reality. It is humiliating to notice the degree in which system-makers and commentators have successively borrowed not only the thoughts, but the illustrations also and the words of three or four dominant writers. Very far then should we be from regarding the authority of the Church, as precisely coincident with the authority of a few men like Origen and Jerome. To these few belongs the authority; they did the thinking; the rest submitted. One class submitted like the marshalls of Napoleon; they intelligently justified the gigantic schemes which they could never have devised. Another class submitted like Napoleon's soldiers; they waited to hear the word; they meant to obey it, and if need be to die for it, not because they liked it, but because they liked the man, and because, like or dislike, obey they must or suffer. And another and larger class submitted barely in not opposing; and they could not oppose, because they had read nothing and heard nothing either to approve or condemn.

The theologian must also scrutinize the degree of authority that belongs to each particular speculation of these masters in doctrine. He must consider their general character as men, must watch the influence of peculiar circumstances on their mode of speculating, and must remember that when a man theorizes in view of an exigency, he is inclined to meet that exigency whether he meet the truth or not. Athanasius



made a book to prove that the unpardonable sin is nothing more or less than the denial of Christ's divinity. But before we can decide how much or how little deference may be paid to his opinion, we must remember how impulsive was the controversial spirit by which he was veering, far as possible, from the belief of Arius his rival in dispute. Augustine held some peculiar notions about native depravity ; and the infelicities of his early life will point out the steps by which he came to those ungracious conclusions, and will show how unsafe it is to seize at his results without examining his singular processes.

The theologian should pursue an eclectic course in regard to the opinions of his predecessors. It is a proverb, one man can do but few things well ; and scarcely any man is an authority in more than one department. Such are the limitations of the mind that there must be a division of labor among intellectual as among mechanical operatives, and the dexterous worker in iron is clumsy when he acts as a joiner. For a decision on the general spirit of theology we should pay high respect to Augustine ; this was his department ; but for a decision on the mode of interpreting a specific scripture, we should pay higher respect to many inferior minds ; for Augustine's knowledge of Greek was very inadequate, and of the Hebrew he says, "*Hebraeam linguam ignoro.*" The way to be wise is to learn from every one what he has most diligently examined, and to sit down with him where he is at home. Oneman has applied the earliest and the maturest and the latest of his energies to the development of one class of doctrines ; he has been turning them over and over in his mind by morning twilight and in the forenoon, at the dinner hour and in the afternoon and evening, and clear into the night. The consequence is, he has often worked the truth out of its own shape into the shape of error ; but yet this very truth he has seized so strongly, and held up so clearly, that we are indebted to him for our most lucid view of it. Another has devoted his whole activity to the elucidating of a different class of doctrines. He has studied them with an energy that must impel the mind far into their nature, and has therefore seen more of their verity and beauty than has been seen by others. But from possessing the truth he came to be possessed by it : he swelled it out into the proportions of falsehood, and com-



bined right elements into a wrong result. The paradox of Dr. Young may be applied to each of these divines, "*Because he is in the right; he is ever in the wrong.*" Because each has turned his undivided enthusiasm to one portion of doctrine, he has presented us with a compound of good and evil; the good is very good, nothing so good: the bad is very bad, worse than if unmingled with its opposite. Now a wise man will not cast away the true because of the false, nor take the false because of the true; but will apply a candid judgment to the compound, and thereby as by a magnet will draw out the steel and leave the dross. He will remember that uninspired man has never believed the truth without some appendage of error; nor has any man believed in error as error, without some nucleus of truth; that in the words of Ullmann, "the convictions of men never stand over against each other as black and white, day and night, God and the devil; but sun-shine and shade spread themselves over all intellects in many various gradations." Nothing then can be more unwise than to adopt as a whole or discard as a whole the belief of any theologian, be he a Westminster divine, or a German Pantheist; be he a Quaker, who has pushed certain good principles into the domain of the ridiculous, or a Sandemanian, who has been so certain of some smaller truths as to overlook the spirit of both the smaller and greater. It has often been said of late, that the human mind is dyspeptic, and will not digest the pure flour of right doctrine without some triturating bran of the wrong; and yet by no means will it live on this bran alone, but must have some flour to keep itself alive. The devotee to the belief that Christ is a man, has believed a correct principle, and has often proved it more clearly than he who had the additional truth to prove, that Christ is also God. The fatalist has discovered strong and just proof of the certainty of actions, and has often been more successful on this one point than he who was burdened with both certainty and free-will. Hence it follows, that as the opposer of religion has often gleaned his arguments from the writings of sound divines, so the advocate of comprehensive truth should gain instruction from the reasoning of erroneous men. He who searches for truth as for hid treasures will go over the battle-field where lie the vanquished enemies of the cross, and will enrich himself with their jewels and diamonds,

their well-wrought breast-plates and gilded swords. A sectarian zealot forgets the plainest lessons of prudence. He forgets that many of our theological systems have been written by controversialists, and that every man in the heat of dispute is prone to take partial and uncandid views, and must therefore be examined rather than trusted. He forgets that the spark of fire is not to be found imbedded in the flint alone, nor in the steel alone, but is first discerned as a third substance, distinct from either, coming from and after the concussion of both; and so the truth often shines forth in its fulness from and after the controversy rather than from either of the men who controvert; neither of these men having what each is sure that he has, the complete system, but both of them together emitting a light that is to be searched for by the sharp-sighted observer. He is a partizan as distinguished from a theologian, who will learn nothing good from Hartley or Priestley because they were fatalists; and nothing good from Lemborch or Le Clerc, because they were defenders of a self-determining will; who reads Turretin merely to believe him, or Arminius merely to condemn him; who receives the teaching of orthodox masters, just as if their doctrine of depravity were, in their case, untrue; and who can see no scholarship and no good argument in men not favored of God with an evangelical faith. It may be reasonably feared, that one who so misunderstands the uses of human authority will want a rational regard for the authority of inspired men; that he will feel like a retainer to the Bible, a hanger on, an adherent to it as a party standard and with the narrow spirit of a party man; and will not be a *believer* in it, one who loves it with an enlarged heart, with an awe of its inward excellence, a manlike and intelligent sympathy with its life-giving doctrine. The Bible seeketh not its defenders from those who give it a blind and uncandid approval, but from those who prize it for its native worth.

Another duty of a theologian is, to cherish a liberal faith in the possibility of improving our standard theological systems. Improvement in other sciences is hailed with joy, but in theological science is often deemed both undesirable and impossible. The new is too often regarded as but a synonym with the false and untrammelled inquiry as a sign of ambition and arrogance. It is on record that Jerome, having grown old

in the belief that falsehood for a good purpose is a duty, became incensed at the "daring spirit of Augustine for venturing out of the common road," and gainsaying the popular belief; and he advised the youthful reformer, "*if he burned with a strong desire of glory*, rather to seek out some champion of his own age with whom he might contend, than molest him who was a worn out veteran." With a similar complaisance were Luther, and Calvin, and Edwards, and Hopkins aspersed as innovators; and the distinctive theology of New-England has suffered less from any logical processes, than from the obloquy of the name which it has worn for more than fifty years, the name of "new divinity."

It is said that theological science differs from every other in that it came from God, and was therefore perfect at the first. It did come from God; it did come perfect from him. But is there not a wide distinction between what is perfect as given, and what is perfect as received; between the fulness of God's teaching and the completeness of man's learning? The most harmonious developements of doctrine are at first but partially comprehended by our ill-balanced minds. God reveals his truth in such a way as to try the character, and not to prevent the possibility of a distorted view; in such a way as to stimulate and guide our active search, and not to supersede our industry, that parent of the virtues. He has decreed that the perfection of doctrine shall be given as a reward to him and only him, who is earnest and piously skillful in following out the hints of nature and the Bible. And as the zeal of theological scholarship has never been what it should be, so the development of theological doctrine has not been what it should and will be. We recognize the invigorating discipline of our Creator in giving us the raw material and not the fabric ready-made; the gold in the ore, under ground, and the pearls at the bottom of the sea, and the matter of science from which we must elaborate the science for ourselves. But we recognize also the lethargy of man in eyeing the butterfly rather than digging for the silver; in neglecting to elucidate even the truths of secular science, evident as they are, subservient as they are to his temporal good. How can we suppose, then, that he has gone to the very foundations of that recondite science, which is alien from his vitiated tastes—gone past all improvement in the richest of human stud-



ies? Is it not the whole history of man, to be rising regularly, though slowly from the savage to the sage; to enucleate by little and little the involved phenomena of life? Is it not an old proverb, that "truth is the daughter of time?" Is it not on every body's tongue that the little child standing on his father's shoulders can see further than his parent; and starting in his race where his father stopped, may go beyond his parent's goal? As every age may begin with the results of the age preceding as the tendencies of the intellect are ever upward, as the experiences of successive generations are quickening the growth of virtuous feeling and thereby of clear perception, we cannot but hope that the most extensive of all the sciences will yet be explored with new vigor and success.

We are further cheered in this hope by the relations of scientific theology to other branches of knowledge. Its main dependence is sacred hermeneutics; and when we compare the principles and modes of interpretation adopted by Calvin with those adopted by the Greek and Latin fathers, we see an advance that betokens the coming of a still riper criticism. Many important parts of the Bible are receiving new illustrations from the chronological researches of such men as Neander, and from the reports of modern travellers concerning the topography and natural history of the East. Long buried dwelling places of the old Orientals have been recently brought to light, and one of our own countrymen, though spending but three months in the Holy Land, and exploring the grounds that have been so often explored in vain, is said to have lately made new discoveries even amid the foundations of the Holy Temple. The almost magical success of Gesenius in evoking the Phœnician tongue from oblivion, the freshening zeal of so many scholars in mastering the cognate languages of the Hebrew, the faithfulness of our missionaries in searching the archives of the East, the increasing facilities of communication between the old countries and the new, have made and are still making our acquaintance with the text and idioms of the Bible more minute and definite than before. The labors of such men as Walton, Mill and Kennicott, Bengel, Wetstein and Griesbach, on the various manuscripts, recensions and versions of the Bible have reflected clear light, and will reflect still clearer, on the comparative authority of our vari-



ous readings, and the true meaning of many controverted passages. The Hebrew Testament can now, as all admit, be translated with more correctness than it was by the seventy-two who made the version that Christ and his Apostles used; and both the Testaments are more accurately interpreted at the present day, than they have ever been since the days of John, the last of the unerring expositors.

The nomenclature of a science frequently determines the rate of its progress. Language is too often the rudder of mind; thought preceding expression and yet expression directing the course of thought. When terms are definite and precise, speculation moves on in a sure and straight line. An improved nomenclature may be as really, though not so radically useful to the theologian, as Lavoisier's nomenclature was to the chemist. The technical phraseology of the sacred science, could not pass through the middle ages without receiving the impress of those unfortunate men, more sinned against than sinning, who were denied the privilege of free thought, and left with little to do but load their few legalized doctrines with rude and barbarous technicalities. However appropriate this phraseology may have been to the times of the schoolmen, it needs to be modified for an age of sounder wisdom and less logomachy. A reform has already begun, and without marring the purity of style may be extended. Words professionally employed to denote what they do not usually mean, are yielding place to less ambiguous phraseology, and though our guilt of Adam's sin continues as sound a doctrine as it ever was, it is expressed in language less uncouth and eccentric. There will be indeed a war against every improvement in the style of polemic divines; for a word is the last thing and the dearest thing that men give up; but truth shall conquer in that warfare though she suffer long, and like the spirit after her conflicts with the body, she shall rise from her struggling with renovated beauty.

The progress of the natural sciences also is opening the way for a progress in theology. It is enlarging the mind, and thus amplifying the view, and the view of divine truth is analytically speaking, the science of it. The theology of Robert Boyle on the benevolence of God was more expansive than that of Ambrose on the same doctrine. Astronomy has not gone up and roamed amid the stars of heaven,

without bringing down her treasures of pure light for the pious student. Geology has not been feeling her way under the foundation-stones of our world, and forcing her crooked path over our hills and crags, without bringing back some useful hints about the history and value and destination of the earth. There are many doctrines of natural religion that must be settled before and without a Bible, or they will never be settled by one. And can these doctrines be illustrated no further? Shall the brightening lights of modern science shine in vain upon the very truths they were designed to illumine?

Perhaps there is no more animating prospect now open to the scholar than in the philosophy of mind. This philosophy is the last to attain completeness. Men look all about them before they look within. They go forth in the morning, and bear the burden and heat of the day, and in the cool of the evening begin to commune with themselves. And as this science comes later to perfection than others less refined, so the elementary parts of it lie hidden longer than the parts less deeply fundamental. Intellectual processes must be performed before they can be analyzed; and the elements of psychology are the last results of such analysis. The atmosphere is breathed and looked through before its oxygen and nitrogen are distinguished, and the diamond is admired before its carbon is heard of. Now it is to a clear unfolding of what are at once the first and last principles of mental science, that theology looks with her brightest anticipations. It is but a few years since the elementary laws of this science were distinctly explained by Buffier and Reid. Before that time men seemed not to know the starting point of an argument, but were running backward in search of a place whence they might begin to go forward. They were hunting for the elements of an element, and the definition of what can never be defined. They were toiling to deduce what is known only by intuition, and as they could not prove what is too evident for proof, they denied among other things their own existence. And even now some scholastic reasoners are suffering from this disregard to first principles, and as was said of the Council of Trent, "are beholden to Aristotle for many articles of their faith." They are standing out on the plain and looking up to the clouds and down to the grass, in the hope of seeing their own eyes; and because they can not

discover them at the right hand or the left, they infer that they have no eyes. The truth is nigh them, even within them, in their mouth and in their heart; but laboring hard to find it, and looking a great way off, and worrying themselves out of all health and soberness, they are left to deny what is too obvious to be made more so by proof. There are men who deny that all sin consists in freely sinning; that man may be rightly punished for nothing but his own act, that power must be commensurate with duty. But such denials are soon to be unheard, as men are chastening themselves to the simplicity of intuitive belief—simplicity, that last and hardest of the virtues. Many reasoners are now training their ambitious intellects to believe what they know to be true, whether they can prove it or not; to rest contented with what they are practically unable to deny; and to wash in the Jordan of common sense, rather than do some great thing, and still retain in theory what they are compelled to discard in practice. And when the artificial deductions of the schoolmen are more fully cleared away, the foundations will be laid for a simpler, chaster, broader, stronger and more appropriate philosophy of doctrine than the pride of argument has yet allowed.

There are some improvements in theology, that depend in their own nature on the lapse of time. We may instance the interpretation of prophecies that are yet to be fulfilled; the proper estimate of certain forms of stating doctrine, certain modes of preaching, certain new and old measures of pastoral action, the comparative value of which is to be learned from their comparative influence for a series of years. There are many positions that seem to be sustained by abstract argument, and yet may be found, after a long and large experience, to harmonize too imperfectly with the deep-seated laws of the mind. It is some advance to have tried a principle, to have found it erroneous, and to return with strengthened assurance to the old truth. The Oxford divines would raise theology above any previous standard of uninspired men, if they should succeed in clearly proving that the departure of Protestants from certain notions of the ancient Church is unauthorized and injurious. A stronger faith in what was once fully believed, if that faith be the result of a more extended induction, is a new blessing; as it is likewise a blessing, and the last improvement in the wisdom of wise men, to discover that what the mind had



prided itself on knowing is really unknown, yet to be learned anew, or perhaps never to be learned at all.

It is needless to add that theology has been obviously improving within the last two centuries ; and the comparison between the standard systems of the present day and those of Turretin, Ridgely, or Owen, presents a rich earnest of what is to come. All these improvements have given, and all future improvements will give new power to the essential doctrines of Jesus. Some arguments for these doctrines are grown obsolete, but truer and stronger arguments are supplied. Never, never should it be forgotten, that he who would benefit the branches of theology must be piously heedful not to tear up its roots, and not to

“Prune and prune, until the quick be cut,  
And the fair fruitage fall beneath the feet  
Of swinish innovation.”

There is danger indeed of moving too fast and too far ; but is this an excuse for not moving at all ? There is danger in every thing ; in defect as well as in excess, in indolence and in ambition. Danger is needed for our trial as moral beings ; it should modify but not prevent our activity. The mind should be cheered with the hope of rising higher and higher, or it will droop its wing and debase itself on trifles. It was made for hope, as the eye for light, and it sinks within itself when told that all is done, that there is no employment for it save in ruminating on past opinions ; that all its restless strength must be swallowed up in the single power of memory. It longs to breathe a purer atmosphere than was ever inhaled before : and as the dart of Acestes kindled while it was rising toward the sun, so does the mind drink in a new vitality, when it aspires to an unattained perfection. The scholar thinks better, feels better, writes better, prays better, lives better, when he goes forth with the freeness and freshness of the sages and bards in the earliest days, willing as a modest man to see the unseen and hear the unheard, and be the first chronicler of some of the works of God.

Another duty of a theologian is, to foster a spirit of fraternal interest in the investigations of his brethren. Nothing is more seemly than the scientific co-operation of such friends as Dugald Stewart and Sir James Mackintosh, and



from nothing do we turn with more sickness of heart than from the recorded animosity of a Newton and a Leibnitz. The history of theological speculation has too seldom been the history of friends, aiding each other in candid as distinguished from party research. It has too often been the history of combatants, who have striven not indeed with more noise than others, but with keener passion.

The peculiar intolerance of theological dogmatists has been owing in part to their love of power. The depravity, belonging by nature to all men, has cleaved in a measure to ministers; and while in other professions it has found an outlet in a love of gain, or of parade, or of pleasure, it has often been confined in the clerical profession to a love of authority. This is the avenue through which the concentrated sinfulness of the soul has poured itself out. It has been fostered by the apologizing name of a desire to exert a good influence. It has been favored by the ministerial station. Week after week has the consecrated man stood erect in the high pulpit, and his people have looked up while he has looked down. He has been the most learned man, perhaps the only learned man in his parish. He has been styled reverend, the ambassador of God, and has been clothed with the most sublime of all power, that over the conscience and religious sentiment. Fathers and mothers have stood in awe when he has sat down in their cottage, and children have hid themselves at the approach of a man so sacred and set apart. This reverence has been in great degree no more than is fitting; but its effect on the feelings of the recipient has too often been a proof that man in his best estate is vanity. Never contradicted in his own bishopric, he has been impatient of contradiction out of it. His own opinions he has looked upon as law, and he would fain throw mountains on the man who has had the temerity to impugn them.

There has been a second reason for the irritating style of controversial theologians. The weapons of their warfare are of refined power. When they plied the chain, the rack, the fire, they used these grosser implements as the symbols of a more subduing penalty. The symbols have gone; the relics of what they signified remain. It is yet hard for the multitude to rise above a superstitious version of the truth, that what the minister binds or looses here shall be bound or

loosed hereafter. To many he yet seems to hold the keys of hell and death. He should be aware of this. It is true, he should make a vigorous opposition against essential error. He should call things by their right names. But he should beware of indulging in too hard names, and of exposing his pious brother to the unmerited jealousies of the Church. When he solemnly insinuates that a theological teacher is a heretic, when he breathes out his significant suspicions that a spiritual guide is unsound in the faith, he sends a panic through a host of confiding Christians, and they, trembling for the ark, cry earnestly to the God of Israel that the new stumbling-block may be removed out of the way. There is an inward, a still, a penetrating power in that word *heretic*, which the men who use it are too prone to forget. It is a word that rouses the fears and inflames the superstitions of praying men and women, who though the humblest are yet the most awe inspiring of all men and women, and arms thousands of the elect of God against one solitary victim, and that victim perhaps an unsuspecting enquirer after truth. It is a word that seems to take hold on eternity, and to consign the unfriended student to the companionship of the ancient apostates, who were delivered over to Satan. When uttered by a high and wary ecclesiastic, it has sounded as if the avenging omnipotence of God was wielded by the envy, or jealousy, or perhaps malice of man. No wonder that Martin Luther sighed for death, as his only hope of rescue from the odium of the Church. No wonder that even evangelical divines have lost their fraternal feeling, when they have reciprocated with each other the accusations of heresy and schism.

A third cause of the peculiar strength of theological animosities has been the encouragement they have received from conscience. Ministers have loved what they have deemed the truth. As it involves the eternal destiny of man, they have felt that they could not fight for it too valiantly, nor beat down Satan under their feet too stoutly. They have sometimes construed their obligation to rebuke and spare not, into an obligation to overbear and intimidate; and all history shows that a man is never so deeply and strongly in an evil way, as when he is there conscientiously.

The effect of this denunciating style among theologians has been various. It has sometimes disheartened the in-

quirer. He has started in his course like a timid hare, but he heard the sound of his pursuers, and was worried down, and he never ventured abroad again. The Alexandrian fathers, Clement, Origen, and Athanasius placed a punctuation mark after the word *ἐν* in the third verse of the first chapter of John's Gospel. Chrysostom was alarmed at this punctuation, and denounced it as a heresy. Epiphanius declared it blasphemous, and the sin against the Holy Ghost; and this commotion on account of a single dot contributed to delay for years the perilous work of punctuating the sacred page. The like hostility to free thought bound the energies of the schoolmen down to the most profitless inquiries. Not daring to rise up and labor in the sunshine they burrowed in darkness, and wasted on puerile conceits the power that was meant for discovery and progress. This substitution of polemic rancor for fraternal interest has driven the mind of others to an extreme of error, which they did not themselves anticipate. As the child so the man, and as every man so the theologian is apt to do right if you convince him that he is expected to do so, and is apt to do wrong if you assure his neighbors that he is past recovery. He is won to truth and repulsed into error. Arminius, if he had been kindly reasoned with instead of being rudely denounced, had never pressed his corruptions so far: and the history of many pitiable writers is this,—first, they inquired with honest intent; secondly, they were called heretics; lastly, they became heretics. This domineering spirit of ecclesiastics has incited other minds to revolution against authority. There are some spirits who will think for themselves. You might as well chain the Hellespont as them. You may stand at the portal with a pointed bayonet; they will come out and do what they list. When the bull of the pope has fallen on such a mind, and the edict of the bishop has oppressed it, and the Presbyterian book of discipline has held it down too closely, this mind has stirred under its load, and has struggled against the walls that confined it, pressing against them like lava against the sides of Etna, and at last has heaved,—and poured itself out of the rent crater, and scattered books of discipline to the four winds, and taught the aspirants for mental sway that what God has made elastic and expansive and inflammable is not to be compressed and stifled. Idle, idle this attempt to defeat the first laws of nature, that the



soul of man shall go out free as the air of heaven,—go after truth, let her leadings be what they may. It is far from the brotherly spirit of the Gospel, and from the manly spirit of science, for a theologian to write a book, not for the discussion of a principle, but for undermining the influence of a man; not for establishing truth by dignified argument, but for awakening *suspensions* against a brother, such suspicions as can never be refuted, and are more mischievous than direct charges; not for convincing the high-minded student who ought to be the umpire in abstruse discussion, but for inflaming the jealousies of the uneducated people, who in some parts of our land are made the sovereigns in religion as well as politics, and who would be saved from much needless trouble, if our metaphysical disputes were conducted as formerly in Latin. The human mind is wronged and grieved, when a theologian exposes in print to the rude world's gaze the hallowed and unguarded conversations of the parlor; when he breaks open the seal of confidential letters, and feeds the vulgar appetite for scandal with the sacred privacies of brotherly intercourse; when he disturbs the sanctuary of the grave, and retails the secret opinions and personal remarks of men just gone to their reward, and brings up the bones of the peaceful dead to hurl at some envied divine, who calls for living accusers and who will sooner endure reproach than rifle in self-defence the still vestments of the tomb.\* It is a pusillanimous orthodoxy and not a

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\* When a controversy is in a *progressive* state, and an individual dies before its results are developed, is it always fair to quote his opinions on a *part* of the controversy, as if they were formed after a full view of the *whole*? Is it always honorable to publish them after his death, when he cautiously abstained from publishing them during his life? Is it not probable that were he living he would choose to qualify his remarks made in conversation, and explain and correct them before they were printed? Has not a word or letter communicated in private a different *meaning* from that which is given it by its publication in a newspaper? Is it not an injury to the living, to bring against him an antagonist whom he cannot contradict without afflicting the hearts of a bereaved and beloved family? Is it not a wrong to the dead, to publish his private opinions, especially about individual character, when he has no opportunity to correct them for the press, and when they are probably the



fraternal Christianity, that prompts the devotee of a human creed to condemn philosophical research, and to confound the true revelation of nature with the philosophy "falsely so called," which and only which the Bible disapproves; to discharge the epithets proud, ambitious, skeptical, infidel, or, worse than all, and worse than any thing else, *Pelagian*, against every one who brings into theology the enterprise of a scientific discoverer, and prefers the sure word of God above all the traditions of the elders. It is humiliating to confess that the form of theological discussion has with some men ceased to be "What is truth," and has come to be "Do certain ministers in the evangelical community believe heretical doctrines." When these ministers deny that they believe what is imputed to them, a book is written to prove that they *are* heretics despite of their denial; and also to prove that modern charity is something distinct from that antiquated grace, which "beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." It has been given, not more quaintly than truly, as a definition of man, that he is a something which has a will of its own and longs to be a pope. Then let us remember that we are all popes, if we be thinking divines; and as we are all dignitaries so are we all brethren; and our duty is not to undermine each other's authority, but to strengthen it by aiding each other's researches; and the way to aid an investigator is, not to exclude him from our sympathies because his mind is his as distinct from ours, but to take a kindly interest in his heart's yearnings; not to avoid discussion for the sake of peace, but to labor for rational peace by brotherly discussion, and to imitate the winning voice of the infinite intellect, "Come let us reason together." Our duty is to note well the delicacy of the mind's nature; how like a field-flower it shuts itself up when no rays come

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last opinions which he would have chosen to publish? Have not the rules of morality been sometimes violated in publishing a careless conversational remark of a departed theologian, without detailing the circumstances essentially modifying that remark, and without stating the fact that it was made in sickness, or in haste, or with some peculiar application? The manner in which controversialists should treat the memory of the dead is to be determined by the sense of honor, which has perhaps been sometimes less faithfully cultivated than the power of constructing syllogisms.

down from the sun, and it will never be forced open by the rudeness of rain and hail, but will expand itself to nothing but the light of the morning, and will drink in only the sweet influences of day. Let a minister of the Gospel never sacrifice the interest of Christian thought to the miserable politics of a school, nor give up to party what was meant for the church. Let him say sincerely what Voltaire said falsely, "I belong to no party but truth." Let him *do* something for the discovery of truth, and store up for his own and for others' use the materials for analysis and generalization. Our practitioners in physic are constantly reporting new phenomena of disease and cure in Medical Journals; our jurists record each new decision for the surer establishment of general principles; and why should not every fit practitioner in the art of saving souls describe in philosophical form such new phenomena of conversion, of revivals, of moral degeneracy, as may furnish to gifted minds matter for induction, and give more of a scientific cast to our theological systems? So shall Christian ministers, like the Jews of old, each one contribute some materials for the tabernacle; and the fellowship of so good and still a cause shall supplant the taste for personal invective and for the manoeuvres of rival partizans.

Another duty of a theologian is, to take a candid view of the causes and results of differences in religious opinion. He is said to be fortunate who can learn the causes of things. The theologian will be delivered from much needless alarm, if he know the real origin of the disputes that trouble the church. He has no right to deny the depravity of man, nor to overlook the influence of this depravity upon the speculations even of pious divines. But as he has no right to be more charitable than the truth allows, so he should not be more censorious. He has no right to ascribe *every* error in theological speculation to a *peculiar* degree of depravity in the men who embrace it. Let us not be misunderstood. On those great doctrines of faith which involve an appeal to the religious emotions, an unsanctified temper is the great source of mistake; but on the theories connected with those doctrines, on the philosophical relations of theology, men of equal piety have always differed. There are questions which piety alone can settle, and others which it can not. These last are the questions of pure intellect. A wrong solution

of them is not necessarily the result of a "bad state of heart." Our "taste men" have no right to say that the "exercise scheme" must originate from a sinful disregard to the native corruption of the soul, nor have our men of no taste a right to say that the scheme they oppose must originate from a desire to conceal our own agency in our own guilt. Because a man believes that our constitution is such as will certainly lead to sin, but is not sin itself, he is sometimes significantly asked, whether he is not ignorant of his own natural depravity; and because another man asserts that our constitution is itself sin, he is sometimes accused of aiming to free himself from blame, and to cast the responsibility of his evil heart upon the Being who made it. But is there no such thing as an *honest* variance of opinion on speculative theology? Can we *never* excuse an erring brother on the ground of his early education, or innocent prejudices, or something unfortunate rather than guilty? Is it always certain that the defender of a new theory is actuated by a desire to become the founder of a sect, or to distinguish his own school or seminary? Is it always certain that the abettors of an old theory are unduly governed by a love to Scotland or Holland, or by a hatred of Germany or New England? And is it *safe*\* for a controversialist to throw the first stone at the moral obliquities of his brother, and insinuate that his metaphysical error must arise from a peculiar degree of spiritual blindness? Who is willing to investigate truth when he knows that every trifling deviation from the phraseology of the standards will expose him to the charge of some peculiar sinfulness? Has not the investigating spirit been already crippled, have not the churches been needlessly alarmed, have not the feelings of the pious student been too sorely lacerated by the suspicion, that an *independent* thinker is of course estranged from God? It is easier to defeat an obnoxious party by insinuations against its Christian character, than to defend the truth by abstract argument; we may sooner blight the prospects of an adversary by exciting a feverish alarm concerning his religious habits, than by a refutation of his principles. But what is effectual is not always gentlemanly or just; and what is successful for a few years is often prolific in ultimate evil.

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\* John 8: 7.

There is nothing which so deeply wounds the spirit of an inquiring scholar, as to be publicly asked the question, whether his speculations do not originate from a pride of heart.

It will soothe many agitated minds to reflect that religious disputes, instead of arising always from a want of conscientious regard to the welfare of the church, arise sometimes from so innocent a cause as the different temperaments of individuals. One divine has a phlegmatic temperament and loves to insist on human passivity; another has a sanguine temperament and loves to insist on human action and freedom; a third has a melancholic temperament and is fascinated with the inexplicable mysteries of God's moral system; a fourth has a bilious temperament and loves to combine the passive and the active, fore-knowledge and free-will. Now the phlegmatic theology in its exclusive form is erroneous; the sanguine theology is the same; and the melancholic when uncombined with others is unsound; but it is not philosophical to excommunicate men by the hundred and thousand because they have a nervous temperament or a bilious mode of reasoning. They may be all pious, equally so with their opposers, yet all imperfect, and their original prolific sin is, in this regard, a sin of the cerebral system, rather than of the voluntary emotions.

It also relieves a suspicious community to know that some of our theological disputes arise from an honest misunderstanding of terms. Indeed the smaller the point of contention so much the more zealous are the disputers; and the church has been almost shaken to its centre, because a divine has used one word when he ought to have used another. It has seemed as if the elements would melt with fervent heat because a man has believed in "imputation" or "ability," while his opponents have all the time believed in all that he means. Earnest Christians have been so much alarmed that they could not sleep by night, because a philosophizing school have asserted that our involuntary nature is not sin; and yet the most learned opposers of this school have believed the same thing and have only refused to assert it in the same way. The jurists of England defined a navigable river to be one in which the tide ebbs and flows. This definition was good enough for England, because all her navigable rivers are also *tide-water* rivers. But in America there are



a thousand streams in which the tide ebbs and flows, which, however, are so small that a boy may leap over them, and according to English law these fingers of the sea are navigable rivers. We have streams too, "into which all the waters of England might be poured without raising their level a single foot," which however are not tide-water streams, and of course according to English law are not navigable; therefore the Mississippi, the Missouri, the Ohio and Connecticut are not orthodox rivers, so long as they contravene the "venerable standards" in admitting navigation and excluding tides. Now there are many theological doctrines in which there ought to be plain sailing, but which are made unnavigable by a similar transfer to one thing of terms which were meant for another. We may lament the perversion of terms, but need not always ascribe it to a perverted heart. The man who has been contending for forty years that the phraseology of the middle ages is the only orthodox faith, is not to be therefore denounced as a sinner above his more modern brethren, but his error may often be traced to a very amiable fondness for ancient relics. And on the other hand, the man who ventures upon a vocabulary more favorable to modern navigation is not to be excused for a word, but is to be punished with a soft hand for his preference of a sound philosophy above a bad style. One theologian accommodates himself to the circumstances of his age; his more stable brother esteemeth all circumstances alike. The former digs a dyke around his house if he lives in Holland, even though his ancestors did no such thing in Edinburgh; the latter, whose ancestors lived in the low countries and in frequent exposures to inundation, is careful to use the old precautions against being overflowed, even when he resides in the ninth story of a house on Edinburgh rock. The difference in the policy of these two men arises from a difference in the versatility of their mental character, more than from a difference in their moral feeling. It will help their mutual charity to remember this.

As a comprehensive view of the *causes* of theological dissension saves us, in some degree, from the most unanswerable and injurious of all reproaches,—reproaches for a peculiar obliquity of heart; so a like view of the *results* of these differences allays much controversial asperity. It is instructive to look over the political papers of the last twenty

years, and see how many times our Union has been dissolved and ruined by the "opposite party;" and still we remain a happy and thriving people. Equally instructive is it to read the writings of divines for the last two or more centuries, and see how lamentable it is that at every period the church has been nearer dissolution than it ever was before, and error was never so threatening, and there is a "crisis" unprecedented, fearful beyond description; and still through these various periods the church has been advancing towards her millennial glory. The truth is, trouble is one part of our discipline. We must have it. We are made the stronger men and the better men by means of it. Every age has magnified its own calamities. It had been better to bear them with more fortitude. The present is said to be the age of peculiar dissension and heresy. Perhaps it is in some respects. Every age is peculiar. But the surest way to perpetuate the evils that now disturb our Zion is to exaggerate them, and to lose our temper, and cease from the discussion of principles for the sake of dismal forebodings about men. And the best way to exterminate the errors of the day is to examine them, and prove them false, and confide in the grace of God by which all things shall work together for good. Our dissensions are not without their benefit. Who would not choose to experience a gale now and then, rather than endure a tiresome and unhealthy calm? Who would not choose to enjoy the life and activity flowing from honest debate, rather than let his mind sink into the habitude of a mere appendage of an hereditary creed? We mourn over some errors of the day in reference to moral agency, and yet in consequence of the discussion resulting from these errors, this great subject is now better understood than it has been for centuries. We are sorry that some men are so extravagant in their speculations, and that others rush into equal extravagance on the other side, as if for the sake of keeping an equilibrium; that some men are too fond of innovating, and others are too fond of introducing unheard of schemes for the sake of checking innovation; that the theology of some men is going forward too far, and the theology of others timorously going backward from the correctness it had once attained; yet on the great whole the prevailing theology is more rational, scriptural and comprehensive than it has been since the age of the apostles; and

it is indebted for this proficiency to the conflicts it has passed through. Few will deny that the style of preaching at the present day is more apostolical than it has been for many centuries; and its superior excellence is owing, in great measure, to the developement of truth in debate. The truth which has been already established is costly; for innumerable theories have been sacrificed to obtain it, and thousands of lives consumed in mortification and grief. It is lamentable indeed that error should prevail even for a day; but it is cheering to know that if it be an important error, it will not prevail long; it involves in itself the seeds of ruin and will soon die, so that the garden of truth may be fertilized by its remains. Good men may continue to uphold it in words, but, if left to tranquil discussion, they will renounce it in fact. The agitation then and spasmodic fear in which some have been indulging is gratuitous and unwise. A sober view of the promises of God, of the history of past dissensions, of the correlative nature of the human mind and of truth, will lead us never to despair of the church. The frail bark of old 'carried Cesar and his fortunes.'

Another duty of a theologian is to associate his doctrines more intimately with what is delicate and refined in taste, comely, humane and magnanimous in sentiment. It has been often lamented that our systems of sacred science are too frigid. They have been called bodies of divinity, and a body is always unsightly unless there be a heart within beating with warm blood. They have sometimes disdained the ornaments of refined sensibility, and have deemed it a weakness to be wedded to the graces of life. They have therefore strode on, independently and stout-heartedly, like Samson with his hand clenching a jaw-bone.

The biography of theological writers explains one reason for this fact. For the last fourteen centuries our speculations have received shape and mould from the bishop of Hippo, in whose person the continent of Africa has held a dominion over the intellect of Christians, that is almost equal to the Christian's control over the body of the African. The theological school, as well as the scientific, has had its Stagyrte, whose hand is upon us even yet, and we are glad to receive the impress of his profound wisdom and piety. We stand in filial awe of his power; but still it was a power not always adorned with the refinements of a catholic age. He

lived in the day of gladiatorial shows ; and though he sternly opposed them, he could not entirely escape the cauterizing influence of the public sentiment which favored them. He was led to indulge in the hardening error of persecuting his adversaries by the aid of the civil law. His youthful precocity in crime made him morbidly sick of his race, and filled him with such fear of the gentler sex that he kept too far aloof from the scenes of domestic love, and suffered not the hand of a wife or a daughter to smooth down the roughnesses and polish the hardness of his iron intellect. Discarding these genial influences from the formation of his character, he gave himself up for years to the business, not so mellowing to himself as it was useful to others, of doing battle against all the adversaries of the faith. Now as every imparted truth is a thought of him who imparts it, and as a thought is a state of the mind thinking, so the great truths which Augustine explained became part and parcel of his own nature. He infused himself into them and through them. We see his image on them, like the image of Phidias on the shield of Minerva's statue. We admire the compact jointures and firm foundations of his work. We are almost proud of it, it looks so commanding and impregnable ; but still it has angles sharper than they need be, and buttresses more rough and frowning ; and we can not but wish that in overpowering the intellect and taking the conscience by storm, he had also consulted the gentler and tenderer sensibilities, and given a more cheerful coloring to the messages of peace and love.

From Augustine the sceptre passed to Calvin ; another mighty and devout man, who did a great work, and whose influence is yet to be more deeply felt and revered. But we do injustice to Calvin's own view of human imperfection, when we say that his trains of reasoning were not defaced by one awkward line. Looking at the portraits of the divines in his day, we see faces that speak of a firm nerve and a brawny arm ; and we ask, ' Who can stand before the children of Anak ? ' Let us not so overrate our natures as to expect from men, called to so many rough duties for such rough times, all the grace and amenity that we find in George Herbert and William Cowper. Calvin was the Apostle of liberty ; like Augustine he went beyond his age in kindliness of feeling ; but if the quaint phrase of Bunyan's and Shakspeare's time may be forgiven ; ' the shell of free-



dom was on his head.' His nicer sentiments and finer susceptibilities were somewhat blunted by the revolting scenes to which he was daily exposed. He moved about among his opponents as an honest and strong-jointed farmer moves with his flail over a threshing-floor. We should do well if we could grasp a doctrine with so strong a hand as his, if we could hold it forth with such distinctness and subduing life ; but we should do better, if we could combine with this stern doctrine the mildness of Him, whose appropriate act it was to take little children into his arms and bless them.

Edwards rose up after Calvin, and it were idle to speak his praise, while many of us are so ambitious to be called by his name. The style of thinking among our divines is so far modeled after him, that his imperfections will suggest our own. And his failing was in too exclusive a regard to one portion of our sensibilities. He seemed to live apart from many of the innocent cravings and sympathies of his race. He learned early in life the great lessons of ministerial dignity. His father, the venerable patriarch of Windsor, was fond of appearing in the full dress of a clergyman, wearing even in his parochial visits a black gown and sometimes his clerical band. Pres. Edwards himself seldom visited the people of his charge, and was inclined to withdraw from promiscuous intercourse. In his singularly modest letter to the Trustees of Nassau Hall he says, "I have a constitution in many respects peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, vapid, sisy, and scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits ; often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanor, with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness ; much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college." He possessed a rich imagination, and might have been one of the first poets of his age, had he not chosen to be the first theologian ; but he speaks disparagingly of "elegance of language and excellency of style," and says of some of his discourses, they were mostly written "at a time when the circumstances of the auditory they were preached to were enough to make a minister neglect, forget and despise such ornaments as politeness and modishness of style and method." He passed his life in a still and sequestered valley ; he resigned the salutary discipline of household care to his estimable wife ; when he entered his sitting room his own chil-

dren, it is said, were in the habit of rising up in token of their well-merited reverence; he ate from a silver bowl, while most of his parishioners were grateful for pewter, but he ate a sparing meal and lived more like a spirit than a partaker of flesh and blood. He was indeed humble as a little child before God, but he often went forth among men, not so much like a fellow-man, as like a vice-gerent of the great law-giver. When an opponent rose up against him, he bore and pressed him down by the force of his amazing genius, and the still greater force of his honest and truth-loving temper. His reply to Dr. Taylor of Norwich is said to have contributed, in connection with other sources of mortification, to hasten the death of that eminent writer. The remarkable confessions of Major Hawley will long remain a monument of the authority which Pres. Edwards held over the conscience and the fears of the most distinguished men.\* When he preached, it was as if one had been let down from heaven to sound one of the seven trumpets, after which seven thunders were to utter their voices. He rehearsed the threatenings of his sovereign as if he had some peculiar right, and indeed he had, to tell on whom they would fall. He stood in the pulpit with a head unmoved and a still hand, and what he had written he had written. But his hearers looked up, and the tears stole down their cheeks, and they shook like aspen-leaves, and on some occasions screamed aloud. Dr. Trumbull says, that when Mr. Edwards was preaching at Enfield, "there was such a breathing of distress and weeping, that the preacher was obliged to speak to the people and desire silence, that he might be heard." A gentleman remarked to Dr. Dwight, that when in his youth he heard Mr. Edwards describe the day of Judgment, he fully supposed that immediately at the close of the sermon, "the Judge would descend and the final separation take

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\* See Allen's Biog. Dict., Art. Hawley; and also Dwight's Life of Edwards, pp. 410, 411, 421—427. An interesting and very characteristic letter from Pres. Edwards to Maj. Hawley, was recently found among Maj. Hawley's papers, by that accomplished historian George Bancroft, Esq., and a copy of it was expected for insertion in this place. Through the kindness of Mr. Bancroft, it will probably be given to the public in some future number of the Repository.

place." During the delivery of one of his most overwhelming discourses in the pulpit of a minister unused to such power, this minister is said to have forgotten himself so far as to pull the preacher by the coat, and try to stay the torrent of such appalling eloquence by the question, "Mr. Edwards! Mr. Edwards! is not God a merciful being,—is he not merciful?"

We bow down before this father of our New England theology with the profoundest veneration. We read his precious volumes with awe and in tears. We are so superstitious, that we almost fear to be called profane for lisping a word against the perfect balancing of his character. And yet we can not help wishing that he had been somewhat more of a brother and somewhat less of a champion; that he had left his book on the will just as large as it is, but had made his book on the affections and sentiments more comprehensive and full; that he had been a little more like one on whose bosom we might lean our heads at a supper, and a little less like one standing in the gloom of solitude, and awing down every weakness of our poor nature. We need and crave a theology, as sacred and spiritual as his, and moreover one that we can take with us into the flower-garden, and to the top of some goodly hill, and in a sail over a tasteful lake, and into the saloons of music, and to the galleries of the painter and the sculptor, and to the repasts of social joy, and to all those humanizing scenes where virtue holds her sway not merely as that generic and abstract duty of a "love to being in general," but also as the more familiar grace of a love to some beings in particular. We do want a theology that will not frown with too great austerity on every playful sentiment, nor disdain all communion with those things which hard-nerved men call "innocent follies," but which were designed by him who remembereth our frame to make the intellect more pliant and versatile, and the manners more polished, and the whole man more human. Many of our systematic treatises on theology have been written in schools, and garrets, and cloisters, and prisons; some of them by men bearing the title of "bachelors in divinity" and the character of bachelor in humanity also; but these treatises would have been more exactly true, had they been composed amid the scenes of a more sympathizing and social life, and by men not so "intensely mar-

ried" to their folios and parchments. Much of our theology has been hammered out by metaphysicians, and we all know what Burke says of these men,—“there is no heart so hard as that of a thorough bred metaphysician.” Now we do not like this remark: it is, like many others of that great man, too extreme; and yet some of our best metaphysical reasoners *have* been a little too unheeding of what they have been pleased to call the “natural” or “animal virtues.” We cling to their substantial doctrines with tenacious fondness, but we hope that the coming generation will study more delicacy of shading, more neatness of adjustment, and will cultivate a style more redolent of kindness and fellowship.

The great evil is, the theology of some men is wrong on principle in its divorce from morals. So many have insisted on morality alone, that some have felt bound to insist on religion alone. Religion and morality have been looked upon as not only separate but rival provinces, and the ignorant have often received an impression that they must come out from the realm of virtue into that of piety. Hence it has been said to one man, “one thing thou lackest,” and to another, one thing thou possessest; and many, so they are devout worshippers, care not to be exemplary as gentlemen or comfortable as neighbors. The sins of religious men have often been the more grievous, as they were also sins against a delicate taste. The solecism has been heard in our religious phraseology, that a man is very pious and very mean; a good Christian, and for all that, none the less unamiable and disobliging and small-hearted and crooked and wilful, or ambitious or covetous or morose. It has been thought that religion covers up and atones for a multitude of sins against propriety. The honorable has been resigned to the duellist, as if there were any real honor that religion would refuse to hallow and enshrine. The beautiful in feeling and conduct has been surrendered to the gay, as if there were any true beauty that holiness would not garner into its bosom. It has sometimes been said that charities for the body, and for the mendicants who live in our streets should be left for the unconverted man to perform; while religion looks higher than all earthly good, to nothing less than the wants of the soul and the heathen. It has been implied that a preacher may as fitly blow a ram’s horn as a silver



trumpet, may as well appear with unwashed hands and a soiled garment as display a more pharisaical morality of divers baptisms ; that the house of God may as well be left unpainted and unswept, and be used for political harrangues and for various sorts of money changers, as be preserved a symbol of the purity and dignity and sacredness of heaven. Now it belongs to a theologian to take an enlarged view of both spiritual and visible religion, of the whole nature of man, and our need of a liberal and congruous development of all inward and outward loveliness. It is his duty to invest the Christian scheme with a claim upon every sensibility, every taste, every aspiration that God has encouraged in the soul ; to show that piety not only approves but requires a true self-respect, a nice sense of honor, frankness and simplicity, a generous and complaisant and candid spirit, a high esteem of talent, of learning, of courage, of patriotism, of public service, government, the arts, and of every thing that shadows forth the pristine character of our fallen race. He must let it be seen that religion is a tower of strength, and around its sides all the beauties and delicacies of natural virtue entwine themselves, and they climb up to its summit, and can not be torn away without losing their own freshness and modesty, without leaving the tower that sustained them not indeed uncomely but yet more naked and bleak than its wise founder designed, secure in an awful grandeur, standing alone in severe beauty, enrobed with the clouds of heaven and girdled with the rainbow, but laid open and bare to hail and storms ; too cold, too sombre, too solitary.

Lastly, it is the duty of a theologian to attain a deep and ardent piety. The first and second and third requisite for every man who would speculate on moral subjects is involved in the command, 'thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself.' Superadded to the obligation under which he lies as a created man and a fellow man, he lies under a distinct obligation as an intellectual inquirer.—For successful study he needs an interest in his theme. We wonder at the patience of the artist, as he sits in his darkened room year after year, and adds with slowness and trembling one hair-breadth line after another to the canvass. But he could not thus protract his assiduities, unless his labor were his pleasure. And the theologian will

not investigate with the needed patience, unless he love the truth which he examines. This love will be the spring of his scholarship. It will allure him onward to protracted thought, and its own gratification will be an hourly recompense for his toil. For successful study a man needs enlargement of intellect. Now it is a common remark that even a dull intellect becomes bright when kindled by religious feeling, and a change of heart is the precursor of a change in mind. Glowing with interest in a great truth the soul expands more and more to entertain that truth, and loving to stand in the sun it assimilates itself to the pure light that surrounds it.—Still further. Though it is essential to the moral agency of a man that he be able to understand many things pertaining to religion, yet there is a certain kind of truth which comes under the peculiar cognizance of rectified emotion, and so far as one is deficient in piety, so far does he want an eye for the discernment of such truth. It is only a specific form of a general proposition, that “the natural man seeth not the things of the Spirit of God, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things.” He were a plainly incompetent critic of Homer or Milton, who had qualified himself for his task by a mere discipline in the mathematics; and we should smile at the man who set himself up as a connoisseur in music simply because he had studied the laws of sound. As an interpreter of the Bible one must have that peculiar kind of vision which seeth hidden things. As there is a language of the Greeks and Romans, the English and French, so there is a language of pious men, and it must be learned by the heart, and its very rudiments are to an unsanctified spirit like the hieroglyphics of Egypt to an unlettered Cherokee. Dr. Scott upon his knees with the Bible open before him, was in just the state of mind which philosophy would prescribe for the detection of certain features invisible to a proud inquirer. A prudent commentator will make it his first aim to be initiated into the mysteries of the sacred fraternity, and then he will understand the meaning of various badges and secret signs that are mere enigmas and perhaps follies to a scholar not elected of God. As a doctrinal theologian too, such a man as John Newton will see his way into a vital truth when such a man as David Hume would grope about like a blinded giant. Emotion as well as intel-

lect is a part of our nature, and is often a guide where mere intellect fails. That argument which accords not with pious feeling is unwrought with the signs of truth. Not a few have reasoned themselves into false doctrine because they deemed it needful to be cold in order to be clear, and to let the lamp of feeling die out in order that the intellect may see in its own darkness. But the intellect is often the keenest in its vision when lighted up with heart-felt love ; just as the physical system becomes as strong again and as brisk again when it glows with healthy excitement. "Strong argument," says John Foster, "may be worked in fire as well as in frost." As many times as one learns a new language, so many times is he said to become a man ; but much more may it be said that every improvement in feeling is an improvement in manly wisdom.

Nor is it merely in the discernment of doctrine that piety is like a new sense. It suggests the proper modes of stating and defending the faith. It will rescue our divines from shaping one principle so as to flatter a Lutheran, and moulding another so as to please a Calvinist ; from distorting the truth for the sake of a place in an old school or a new school ; from apportioning doctrines so as to suit the schemes of a party at the hazard of losing the spirit of the Bible. For eighteen hundred years has true religion been fleeing from one field of controversy to another, and has always sighed over the incomplete and uncandid representations of her friends. Bleeding and torn she has come to the arena where modern theologians endeavor to prove the unsoundness of their brethren. She grieves over the stratagems of some, over the asperities of others, and over that fear of man that deters so many from defending an enlarged and complete doctrine. She goes over the field where our combatants are trampling down, each one some jewel of truth, and she picks up the treasures, and holds them out to the gaze of her forgetful friends. She weeps in secret places that good men choose to name each other heretics and to rive the Church asunder, rather than adopt that more honorable form of service, the speaking of revealed truth in love. She calls, and calls, "oh ye, the elect of Heaven ! how long shall I be wounded in the house of my friends ?—for I am the daughter of peace and my home is in the bosom of the Prince of peace. Reason ye like Christian philosophers, and not like the disputers

of this world. Speak your words like courteous and high-minded men, and scorn to become whisperers and busybodies. Be the noblemen of nature, and be clothed with humility as your chief adorning."

It is not too much to say that a man can never be, in all respects, a good theological writer, and suitably conform to the canons of a sound rhetoric, unless he have a heart that beats with a fervent piety, and the pulsations of which may be felt and seen in his style. Neither is it too much to say that he can not exert the influence which every minister ought to exert, unless he be known to abide in God. A large part of the people who respect religion are not theologians; they do not examine the intricate proofs of doctrine; they are bound to the truth by a confidence in their minister; and his apparent godliness is a great argument for the correctness of his teaching. But let him cease to walk in the gardens where his great and only master dwelleth; let him cease to come forth daily from that paradise with his robes exhaling the perfume of its spices, and the bond is severed by which he held together the consciences of his people. He no longer seems to be the "mouth of God;" and to speak the words of the judge; but he utters his own words, and they fall like hail-stones upon the ice. Could I but persuade one candidate for the sacred office that his interest and his duty are linked together, and that he can never become a thorough divine unless he becomes a prayerful Christian, I should thereby convince him of one of the deepest laid truths in the philosophy of mind. And yet when I come up to these halls and groves,\* I feel a renewed assurance that a meek piety is the only pledge of successful investigation. The Burton, the Wood, the Harris, the Strong, the Hyde, the Appleton, the Porter, the Moore, the Smith, the Brown, men who went forth from this classic retreat to instruct the Churches of New England, all testify that without holiness of heart no man is qualified for an independent study of sacred themes. We are the successors of an excellent ministry. Our fathers have bequeathed to

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\* This article was delivered in the form of an address before the Theological Society of Dartmouth College, on Wednesday, July 24, 1839, the day preceding commencement.



New England a theological character, not faultless indeed, but one that we love to eulogize. No where else is the mind allowed to think with so little to fetter it. No where else are the superstitions of the people so little enlisted against inquiry. No where else has doctrine been freed so thoroughly from scholastic perversions. No where else is the door for improvement, as distinct from innovation, so safely opened. But with a great sum have we obtained this freedom. Our fathers fought like true men. They were stigmatized as the enemies of established creeds, and as the lovers of metaphysics more than of the Bible. They endured reproach, and died ; but they left us their New England divinity, the great principles of which shall always live. The more it is opposed as heresy and "new light," so much the more closely will we bind it to our hearts ; for it is the fruit of sound sense and severe thought, and, above all, deep devotion. So please Almighty God, we will be faithful to our fathers' memories. Like them we will learn what we can. Like them we will say what we know. We will feel that of all men on earth New England men should be the last either to fear the accusation of bigotry, or to become bigots—either to be reckless in resisting authority, or slavish in compressing their speculations into the shape of a triangle or a square. We will write on our consciences the magnanimous creed of John Robinson, who told the voyagers in the *May-flower* that he would not foreclose his mind against the truth of God, even if it were new. Let us then give heed to ourselves and the doctrine ; be first pure and always peaceable. And may our great Teacher make us cautious like Edwards, scrutinizing like Hopkins and Bellamy and Spring ; honest like Emmons, who still lingers with us to rejoice in the progress of his favorite science ; and above all, may we be humble as the child who asks for bread, and as God is true, shall never receive a stone.

## ARTICLE VII.

AN ESSAY ON CAUSE AND EFFECT, IN CONNEXION WITH  
THE DOCTRINES OF FATALISM AND FREE AGENCY.\*

It is believed that the most agitating points of theological discussion, are connected with certain *first principles*, which as yet have never been analyzed and investigated with sufficient accuracy. The consequence has been, that men have differed in many cases, not so much from wrong feeling, as from misty conceptions.

It is believed, also, that if certain leading minds will go back to the investigation and discussion of these first principles, until their own conceptions of them shall become clear and definite, they will then be able to make them intelligible to others, and thus much needless discussion will be ended. The object of this essay is, to stimulate such minds to this investigation and discussion.

The doctrines of fatalism, free-agency, accountability, regeneration, divine influence, and their connected topics, all lead back to the question of cause and effect, as will be somewhat illustrated in the following pages.

The axiom, or first principle, which is the foundation of

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\* On account of circumstances quite peculiar the name of the writer of this article is withheld. The ability with which it is written and the interest which has, of late, been awakened on the subject of which it treats, cannot fail to secure for it many attentive readers. Should any be inclined to dissent from the positions here maintained, it is believed they will find evidence in the article itself that its author is not a "man of straw," and to such as desire a thorough investigation of the subject, the opening of this discussion without the authority of any name, may appear to be favorable to the candor and unbiassed freedom of future writers in the Repository on the same topics. Our object is truth, and should it hereafter appear that truth may be promoted by disclosing the name now withheld, we shall feel no reluctance to make it known. At present we yield to the request of the writer in view of the circumstances above alluded to.

EDITOR.

our reasonings on these subjects, is thus stated by President Day.

"The axiom, that *every change implies an adequate cause*, is a primary element of human thought. It has all the characteristics of a fundamental truth. It is *intuitive*, requiring no process of reasoning to prove it; it is *irresistible*, no force of reasoning can overthrow it;—it is *universal*, compelling the belief of all men in all ages of the world."

Here Pres. Day, like most philosophers, assumes that there are certain implanted truths, which all men believe, which reasoning does not establish and cannot destroy, and that these fundamental truths are the basis of all reasoning.

Now if it should appear that the above, which is one of the most important of these axioms, may be applied to different cases, and that in one case it is true in one sense and false in another sense, we shall gain one of the causes of the perplexity that has attended reasonings based on this principle.

The word "cause," in its widest sense signifies "some antecedent on which existence or change depends." Any circumstance which is so connected with a change, that it would not have taken place without this circumstance, or one of a similar nature, is called the cause of that change. For example, in the ignition of gun-powder, several circumstances are indispensable. There must be circumambient atmosphere, the fire and powder must be in contact, and there must be a hand or some other agent to bring them in contact. If the fire and powder were in a vacuum, and atmosphere should be introduced to produce explosion, the air would be called the cause of the explosion. The contact of the two bodies would also be assigned as a cause, and the hand that secured the contact would be called a cause. If the powder was wet, the water would be called the cause of the non-explosion, and if the dampness were removed this circumstance would be called the cause of the consequent effect. Every kind of circumstance that has *any* influence in inducing a change, is called a cause of that change. This is the generic use of the term, but there is a specific use, which, though it includes this general idea, includes also a specific difference.

To illustrate before defining, let *salt* be taken as an example. When it is applied to the tongue, a change is produced, called a sensation, and the salt is the cause of this change.

But in order to secure this effect, it was indispensable that *some other thing* should act as a cause, in bringing the tongue and salt into contact; it may be the hand of some one of twenty different persons, and one hand would do as well as another. In this case the hand is called the cause of the sensation as much as the salt. But it is manifest that the salt is a cause, in a different sense from the hand. The distinctive difference is this. The salt has a peculiar power given by the Creator, as a part of its nature, which enables that, and no other thing, to produce a given effect, so that if any other thing produced this effect, or if this effect did not follow the contact of the salt and tongue, in the usual manner, the constitution of things would be altered. It would be a miracle, for miracles are a suspension or change in the ordinary operations of causes.

But the other circumstances might have been substituted and the effect still follow. Various agencies might be employed instead of a hand, to bring the salt and tongue in contact. The salt is the only thing, which in all cases, is indispensable, which always does produce the given effect, while no other thing can do it. Other circumstances are indispensable in order to enable the salt to exercise its constitutional powers.

The following then, are the definitions which need to be recognised in all discussions on the subject:—

1. *Cause* (in the generic sense) any antecedent on which existence or change in any manner depends.

2. *Producing cause*, that peculiar power possessed by each individual existence, which enables it to produce changes so that in given circumstances it could not have been otherwise, without implying an alteration in the nature of things.

3. *Occasional Cause*. That circumstance which enables a producing cause to act, and which is so far an indispensable antecedent, that either that, or *some other thing*, is necessary to secure the effect.

The writer prefers new terms, because though other writers vaguely recognise this distinction, the terms they employ have been used in various senses, and this serves to perplex. It is hoped that something will be gained, by adopting new terms, that will convey only the idea which the writer wishes should be attached to them.



In examining the language of common life, we shall find that the word "cause," is indiscriminately applied to *every kind* of circumstance on which any event depends. For example, a bowl is full of water, a little more is added, and it overflows. The *cause* of this is asked, and a great variety are assigned. The person who poured the water would be one—that the bowl was already filled, another—that too much water was added, another—the attraction of gravity; another—the volition of the person who poured the water, another, and so on. Any thing, which in any manner tended to produce this result would be assigned as a cause. Sometimes causes are sought for *no change*. Thus why *did not* the water which was remaining in the bowl run out? But this language always is in the generic sense of the term cause. The inquiry is not for the *producing* cause, but for any of the circumstances which led to the particular strange event mentioned.

Now there are only two kinds of existences in which changes can be made, viz. matter and mind. Matter is so constituted by the Creator, that it has no inherent power of change. *Inertia* is one of the properties of matter, which signifies, that it has no constitutional power to change itself, but that it depends on some *ab extra* cause for every change. Matter can produce changes in matter, according to certain constitutional laws. Thus the magnet moves iron, and a row of bricks may be so placed, that each one shall cause the fall of its next neighbor. But none of these are changes, which arise from any inherent power of action in the matter itself. Every change in matter, must be produced by some other thing which is *ab extra*. God has formed material things with such properties and laws, as that when they are once put in motion by himself, their changes are perpetuated by a chain of secondary causes, which run back to the Creator as the great first cause of all. And God has so formed our minds, that nothing can strike us as more absurd and impossible, than that any portion of matter, without any foreign *ab extra* cause, should begin to move itself.

The axiom then, which is allowed by all to be an intuitive, self evident, and universal truth, in reference to *matter* has this signification. "Every change implies an *ab extra* cause,"

But is this axiom true in reference to mind? Can no change in mind take place, which is not caused by some other thing *ab extra*?

That this is not an intuitive, self-evident, universal truth in respect to mind, is demonstrated, by the universal belief in a *First Cause*, which was the Creator of all other causes. Of course, before any thing else existed, the Eternal Mind did act without any *ab extra* cause, for there was none in existence. This settles the question that one mind at least, has inherent powers of action. And as this mind is almighty, others may have been formed in the same likeness. This supposition does not contradict the general fundamental axiom of causation. If it be said, that before creation, all things, to God, were *as if* already in existence, and that when he willed to create, he acted in view of motives, it is replied, that these motives must have been conceptions of what might be, and that these must have originated in the mind itself, for there was no other cause. All the conceptions, desires, and volitions of Deity, before creation, must have arisen from inherent powers of action, and not from foreign causes. This settles the point, that mind differs from matter in being *a producing cause of its own actions*.

But in analyzing and classifying the changes of mind, we find the following classes:—

1. Changes which are produced by *ab extra* causes. These are all the sensations, which are caused by material objects acting through the senses.

2. Changes which depend for existence on some *previous state of mind*. For example, fear, is a state of mind which depends for existence on a previous conception of danger. Desire, also, is a state of mind, that depends on a previous conception of some good. These previous states of mind are causes of following effects, in the same sense in which loadstone is the cause of certain effects on iron. Those states of mind which are causes of succeeding states of mind may be termed *constitutional producing causes*. They arise, not from any cause *ab extra*, but from the constitution of mind itself. They are effects which must follow, unless there were a change in the nature of mind.

From this it appears, that mind is formed not only with inherent powers of action, but also so that one state of mind is a *producing cause* of another state.

3. The last class of mental acts are called *volitions*, and it is in reference to these that the whole question of fatalism and free agency must be discussed.

It will be allowed by all, that some changes of mind are produced by *ab extra* causes, and that others are the effect of producing constitutional causes. The point at issue is simply this: Is volition connected with a previous desire (or motive) as a *producing constitutional* cause? Or in other words, are motives *producing*, or are they only *occasional* causes of volition?

In conducting this discussion, the following things are held in common:—

1. All allow that motives are the causes of volition, in one or the other sense of the term, so that on either theory, volitions are not changes without causes.

2. That the term motive, may be indiscriminately used either for those objects of conception which produce desire (called objective motives) or the desires themselves (called subjective motives).

3. That those objects that awaken desire are the *constitutional producing* causes of *desire*, so that no other effect could follow without a change in the nature of things. Or in other words, objects of conception are the constitutional producing causes of desire. In these particulars the defenders of fatalism and of free-agency agree. The main question now recurs, are motives producing constitutional causes, or are they merely occasional causes of volition? There can be only two answers to this question. Whoever affirms that motives are producing causes of volition, is a fatalist. Whoever affirms that motives are not producing, but only occasional causes, maintains the doctrine of free agency. These two positions are the only possible answers to the question. Before proceeding, these conflicting doctrines will be stated more at length.

#### DOCTRINE OF FATALISM.

According to this theory, the mind of man possesses various susceptibilities of enjoyment from different kinds of good. The conception of good excites desire in various degrees, according to the peculiar nature of the mind, or the nature

of the good presented. The constitution of mind is such, that whatever desire is the strongest, invariably and inevitably produces a volition to gratify it, so that there is no other volition possible without a change in the nature of things. The strongest desire and volition are producing constitutional cause and necessary effect, the same as the conception of danger and the emotion of fear, are producing cause and effect. Even in those cases, in which men choose what they know is the lesser good (as when men choose intemperate courses) they have no power to do otherwise, because the desire for what is known to be an inferior good, is stronger than the desire for what is seen to be best on the whole, and the nature of mind is such, that the strongest desire is the only and inevitable producing cause of volition. It is as impossible, in the nature of things, for any mind to choose any other way than as it does choose, as it is for a small weight to balance a larger one.

#### DOCTRINE OF FREE AGENCY.

According to this theory, the mind of man is endowed with a constitutional desire for happiness, which is the steady abiding feeling of the mind, and is the mainspring of all the mental activity included in volition. Mind never will choose, except to gain some good, (for the least of two inevitable evils is regarded as a good,) any more than matter will move without an *ab extra* producing cause. Motives of some kind then are indispensable antecedents, but not producing causes. But the nature and circumstances of mind are such, that often conflicting desires for incompatible modes of enjoyment *co-exist*. They are desires for some specific modes of enjoyment, any one of which will secure some degree of enjoyment. The mind is also endowed with the power of reason, or as it is sometimes called, the understanding or the judgment, which enables it to decide *which kind* of offered good will secure the *most* enjoyment on the whole. In certain cases those objects which most strongly excite specific desires are seen to be consistent with the greatest good on the whole, and in such cases the mind always chooses that which excites the strongest desire. But there are cases when the mind is excited by a strong desire for



some specific good, either present or future, which reason perceives to involve more evil and less good than another course. In such cases there is a conflict between the generic desire for happiness, and the specific desire for some particular good. That the mind may be influenced by a generic desire for happiness without reference to any specific objects, will appear, by supposing that a man is assured of God, that if he will give up the gratification of certain specific desires, and choose a given course of self denial, he shall receive all the various enjoyments which God can bestow through eternity. In this last case, no specific objects of good are presented, to excite specific desires, but influenced by the generic desire of happiness, a man might choose that course which would involve the sacrifice of all present specific desires. The question of fatalism and free agency is restricted chiefly to those cases in which specific desires conflict with the dictates of the understanding. In such cases, the defender of free agency, maintains that there is no invariable rule of volition. The mind does not invariably choose to gratify specific desire, when conflicting with the understanding, nor does it invariably follow the dictates of the understanding, but sometimes it chooses one way and sometimes the other. And there is no fixed connexion, as producing cause and necessary effect, between any class of desires and volition. Desires or motives are only the occasional causes, which enable the mind to exercise its inherent power of action itself being the *producing* cause of its own volitions, just as God was the producing cause of his volitions, before any other cause existed.

From the preceding statement, it is manifest, that in discussing the main question, whether motives are producing or only occasional causes of volition, we shall be led to inquire, how do we learn to distinguish between producing and occasional causes—or in other words, what is the method of establishing the fact of a producing cause?

The only method of proving any thing to be a producing cause, is to show, that in given circumstances, there is an *invariable rule* of change, so that when a cause is put in these circumstances, a certain change *invariably* follows. It is the unfailing *constancy* of the result that enables us to detect the real producing cause. The philosopher in experimenting to detect causes, is continually seeking to learn

*which* one of the various circumstances cannot have a substitute—*which* must be invariably an antecedent. Thus in the case of salt, all other circumstances, which are causes of the sensation of saltiness, may have substitutes, and the effect will follow. The salt and the salt alone is the invariable antecedent. The only method therefore of proving a thing to be a producing cause, is to establish the fact that it is an *invariable* antecedent. On the contrary we prove a thing to be merely an occasional, and not a producing cause, by showing that it is not the invariable antecedent, but may have a substitute, and the effect still will follow.

How then is the fatalist to prove that motive or desire is a producing cause? By establishing the fact that there is *some particular kind* of desire or motive which is the *invariable* antecedent of volition. And free agency is to be proved by establishing the fact, that there is no invariable antecedent of volition, but that the mind sometimes chooses to gratify one class of desires and sometimes another.

Here then is the “tug of war”—*Hic labor, hoc opus est.*

We will now examine the mode in which the doctrine of fatalism is stated and defended, by its chief apostle Priestly. The extracts are taken from the second Birmingham edition of his works, Vol 2. p. 8, and onwards.

“There is some fixed law of nature respecting the will (as well as the other powers of mind, and every thing else in the constitution of nature,) and consequently it is never determined without some real apparent cause *foreign to itself*; i.e. without some motive of choice; and motives influence us *in some definite and invariable manner*, so that volition or choice is constantly regulated by what precedes it. And this *constant* determination of mind, *according to the motive presented to it*, is all I mean by necessary determination. This being admitted to be the fact, there will be a necessary connexion between all things, past, present, and future, in the way of proper cause and effect, as much in the intellectual as in the natural world, so that how little soever the bulk of mankind may be apprehensive of it, or staggered by it, *according to the established law of nature*, no event could have been otherwise than as it has been, is, or is to be, and therefore all things past present and to come are precisely what the Author of Nature intended them to be, and has made provision for.”

In this passage he maintains,

1. That volitions, as well as all other changes, are caused by *ab extra* causes.

2. He shows that by "cause" he means in all cases a *producing cause*, and he shows also that it is an invariable or "a constant" antecedent, which he decides to constitute a *producing*, or in his language a *necessary* cause.

3. He asserts this invariable constant antecedence, in regard to volitions, so that they follow according to some invariable rule, and could not be otherwise, without a change in the established laws of nature. He then attempts to establish the connexion between motive and volition, as producing or necessary cause and effect, thus :

"To establish this conclusion, nothing is necessary, but that through all nature, *the same consequences should invariably result from the same circumstances* ; for if this be admitted, it will necessarily follow that at the commencement of any system, since the several parts of it and their respective situations were appointed by the Deity, the first change would take place *according to a certain rule* established by himself, the result of which would be a new situation ; after which, the same laws continuing, another change would succeed, according to the same rules, and so on for ever, every new situation invariably leading to another, and every event, from the commencement to the termination of the system, being strictly connected, so that unless the fundamental laws of the system were changed, it would be impossible that any event should have been otherwise than as it was, just as the precise place where a billiard ball rests is necessarily determined by the impulse given to it." In this passage he allows that the only way to establish his point is, to show that "through all nature the same consequences *invariably* result from the same circumstances." But he does not attempt to do this ; he only says, "if this be admitted" then his point is proved, and volition and every thing else, are caused by *ab extra producing causes*. But this is not admitted. No intelligent defender of free agency will admit, that volitions in all cases are regulated by some invariable rule, so that a given kind of motives are the invariable antecedents of volition. He will insist on the opposite fact.

Priestly then gives this definition of a cause.

"Cause—such previous circumstances as are constantly

followed by a certain effect, (or change), the constancy of the result making us conclude, that there must be a sufficient reason *in the nature of things*, why it should be produced in these circumstances."

This is not a definition, so much as a description of the process by which we ascertain which are producing causes.

God's mind was the first cause, and this cannot be included in a definition which makes a cause to be "previous circumstances." There were no circumstances previous to God's mind.

He then proceeds to reason thus. "It is universally acknowledged, that there can be no effect (or change) without an adequate cause. This is the foundation on which the only argument for the being of a God can rest. And the necessitarian asserts, that if, in any given state of mind, with respect both to *disposition and motive*, two different determinations be possible, it can be on no other principle, than that one of them shall come under the description of an effect without a cause, just as if the beam of a balance might incline either way, though loaded with equal weights. The mechanism of the balance is one kind, and that of the mind another, (physical and moral) but still *if there is a real mechanism* in both cases, so that there can be but one result from the same previous circumstances, there will be a real necessity, enforcing absolute certainty in the event. For it must be understood that all which is meant by certainty in a cause is, that which produces certainty in the effect."

In the above passage Priestly maintains the following positions :

1. That the whole argument rests on the axiom that "every change has a cause," and maintains that any one who denies this maxim gives up the only foundation for supporting the being of a God. He is correct in this assertion, but not in the construction he puts on the axiom, as implying that every change must have an *ab extra* cause.

2. He claims that the supposition that two volitions are equally possible, involves the absurdity of supposing a change without a cause. This is denied—for allowing that the mind has the power of a contrary choice, and that it exercises it, never implies any lacking of a cause. There is always the mind, which is the producing cause, and the motive, which is the occasional cause.



In another place, p. 45, he makes the following remarks :

“What is *desire*, but a *wish* to obtain some apprehended good, and is not *every wish a volition*?” Again—“Desire necessarily implies volition.” Again, “Desire, like every other of the passions, is allowed to be a perfectly *mechanical thing*,” (i. e. an effect of a producing cause, just as machinery is).

Did any man but a philosopher, ever maintain that we always choose to take every thing we desire—that we never have any wish which we do not choose to gratify—that every wish is a volition? If there are any acts of mind clearly distinct and different, they are desires and volitions.

The sophistry and adroitness of this assumption is manifest in its so completely proving fatalism, if it is allowed. For every man feels, that *desire* is caused by a *producing* cause—and if the fatalist can make a man allow that volition is the same thing, then of course *volition* is caused by a producing cause.

The preceding extracts exhibit all the positions and arguments ever employed, to maintain the doctrine of fatalism. The following presents them in a more condensed form :

1. Fatalists claim that the axiom, “every change implies a cause,” signifies that every change depends on an *ab extra* cause ; and of course is an affirmation that the mind is not the producing cause of its own actions.

2. They claim that there is some *invariable rule* regulating volitions, and that this establishes the fact that motives are producing causes. They claim that *invariable antecedence* is the only proof of a producing cause, and that this exists in regard to volitions as much as in respect to changes in matter. This fact of invariable antecedence is presented three ways. The first is by claiming, as Priestly does, that desire and volition are the same thing. The second is by claiming that volition is invariably preceded by “the strongest motive”—and by strongest motive is meant, “that which at the moment of choice *seems most agreeable*”—or that which is regarded as the greatest apparent good.”

The third method is that adopted by Phrenologists, who either omit or deny the power of volition, as distinct from exerted desires.

They make the mind to consist of a collection of susceptibilities, the stronger of which control the weaker, and there

is no regulating power of the will which decides which desires shall be denied and which indulged. It is in effect making desire and volition the same thing.

In regard to the first and third methods, all that can be done is to appeal to the consciousness and common sense of mankind. Every man does know and believe, that he does desire some things he does not choose to take, and that desire and choice are not the same thing. In regard to the second method, all the difficulty in meeting it is occasioned by an adroit use of terms, which confuse and mislead. The terms *greater, stronger, more powerful*, and the like, are employed in reference to mental states and acts, with the sense which pertains to them when employed in reference to physical changes.

In material changes, *strength* or *power* in a cause, is always determined by the *effects* produced, and one thing is accounted stronger than another when it can produce greater effects. For example, when one weight can move ten pounds, and another can move only one pound, the weight which moves the greatest body is called the strongest or most powerful.

The fallacy to be pointed out, consists in applying this same method of measurement to express relative states of mind.

It in fact *assumes* that motives are *producing* causes, and therefore as one motive produces volition, and another does not, it is maintained that one is more powerful than another. The motive which secures volition being considered as a producing cause, it of course makes it more powerful, because it can produce an effect that other motives could not. All the fallacy consists in assuming, without proof, that motives are producing causes.

But this of course is denied, and in opposition, it is maintained, that the only method of measuring desires or motives is, not by the effects they produce, but by our feelings or consciousness. We know by experience, when we have a weak, and when a strong desire for any thing, and in all measurement of strong or weak desire, we always refer to our own experience. We never say "I know I had a strong desire for water because it produced the volition to drink," for we know that in many cases we choose to drink when we have but little desire for it, and sometimes we refrain from drink-

ing when we have a strong desire. It is true that in many cases the strongest desire is the one we choose to gratify, and in *all* cases where the strongest desire coincides with the decisions of the judgment, as compatible with the greatest good, the mind chooses to gratify the strongest desire. But in those cases where strong specific desire conflicts with a view of the greatest good, whenever self-denial is practised, the strongest desire is denied, and the mind chooses according to the dictates of the understanding.

It may be asserted in reply, that in all those cases in which the understanding is obeyed, it is because the desire for what seems the greatest good on the whole, is *stronger* than any specific desire that opposes it. To this it is replied, that this quiet, never-ceasing, unexciting desire of happiness in general, is not increased or diminished in vividness and strength like specific desires. It is always the same. And though it is called a desire, and often is classed with other desires, it yet has a peculiar and distinctive character, which makes it not a proper subject of comparison as to *strength* with specific desires. In regard to material things, there are cases where the powers of different things cannot be compared as to their relative strength. For example, a weight can raise a body—a mirror can reflect light, and yet we cannot with any propriety compare them as to strength. So the generic desire of happiness which ever exists in the mind, is not a proper subject of comparison with specific desires. We cannot say that the desire for food or for fame is stronger than the generic desire of happiness on the whole, nor can we say that this generic desire is stronger at one time than at another. It is because men have not regarded this distinction, and have confounded this generic desire with the specific desires, that much confusion exists. When several specific desires are excited in different degrees, and conflict with each other, in cases where no reference can be had to connected consequences, the mind always chooses to gratify the strongest desire. But when specific desires conflict with the generic desire of happiness, then the mind chooses sometimes one way and sometimes another. There never is that invariable antecedence in such cases, which is proof of producing causation. Of course the assertion that the mind invariably chooses to gratify the strongest desire, is a mere assumption, incapable of proof and

contrary to the experience of mankind. In all cases where self-denial is practised, we give up that which excites the strongest desire, to secure that which reason decides to be the greatest good. According to the fatalist, self-denial consists in always choosing what is "most agreeable"—or what excites "the strongest desire." And self-indulgence must be the same thing, for on his theory the mind in *no case* chooses, except to gratify the strongest desire. Men always are having every thing which they most desire ; they in no case ever suffer by being obliged to take any thing but that which at the time of choice is "most agreeable."

But what is the evidence offered by the fatalist to prove that the desire which the mind chooses to gratify is the strongest ? It is the simple fact that *it is chosen*. And here is a most illustrious example of reasoning in a circle. The thing to be proved is, that the strongest desire is a producing cause or the invariable antecedent to volition, and it is proved thus :

Motive or desire is the producing cause of volition, because it is an invariable antecedent—and it is an invariable antecedent because it is a producing cause.

In order more clearly to exhibit this method of reasoning in a circle, we will put the argument into the form of syllogisms. The thing to be proved is, that motives are *producing* causes of volition. The argument stands thus :

Major Proposition. Any invariable antecedent is a producing cause.

Minor Prop. The strongest motive is an invariable antecedent.

Conclusion. Therefore the strongest motive is a producing cause.

But the opponent questions the truth of the minor proposition, (i. e. that the strongest motive is an invariable antecedent), and demands proof. The argument in proof is attempted thus :

Major Prop. Whatever *produces* the greatest effect is the *greatest*, or *strongest* in power.

Minor Prop. The motive to which the mind yields (or which it chooses), as it produces volition, causes greater effects than those motives which do not produce volition.

Conclusion. Therefore, that which the mind chooses is the strongest motive.



In these two syllogisms it will be seen that the strongest motive is proved to be a producing cause, by asserting that it is an invariable antecedent, and then it is proved to be an invariable antecedent by asserting that it is a producing cause. Or in shorter terms, the strongest motive is a producing cause—because it is an invariable antecedent. The strongest motive is an invariable antecedent—because it is a producing cause. But the defender of free agency denies both assertions, and maintains that the strongest desire is not a producing cause, neither is it an invariable antecedent.

There is another fallacy in the statement of fatalists which needs to be noticed. Every one allows that motives of *some sort* are invariably antecedents to volition. This is taken for granted, and then the admission is used, as if it were conceded that a particular kind of motive (i. e. the strongest) were the invariable antecedent. As if a man should claim that *sowing of some sort*, always is an antecedent to all kinds of harvests, and, when this is allowed, should assume that the sowing of *wheat* is the invariable antecedent of all kinds of harvests.

In the preceding pages, we have exhibited the doctrine of fatalism as it is stated and defended by its advocates. We have shown, that it consists in maintaining that motive or desire is a producing and not an occasional cause of volition, so that in any case, a contrary choice would involve a change in the order of nature.

To establish this, it is affirmed, either that desire and volition are one and the same thing, or else that there is a *particular kind* of motive which is an invariable antecedent of volition, viz. the *strongest motive*, or that which at the moment of choice seems “the most agreeable.” And it is also maintained that the assumption of any power in the mind to make a contrary choice, involves the denial of the primary axiom that “every change has a cause.” In meeting these positions of the fatalists, it has been denied, that motive is a producing cause, and asserted that it is only an occasional cause (i. e. a cause which may have a substitute and yet volition follow). It is also maintained, that there is no particular class of motives, which are invariable antecedents to volition, but that the mind not only has power, but in certain cases actually does choose in opposite directions, sometimes one way and at other times another way (i. e.

in those cases where specific desires conflict with reason and the generic desire of happiness.) It is also maintained that supposing the mind to have the power of contrary choice, does not involve a denial of the axiom that "every change must have a cause," for on this supposition, there still would be the mind itself, as the producing cause and motive, as the occasional cause of each volition.

It will now be attempted to show, that the doctrine of free agency, or the power of opposite or contrary choice, is one of those "intuitive, irresistible, and universal truths," which "requires no process of reasoning to prove," which "no force of reasoning can overthrow," which "compels the belief of all men, in all ages of the world."

Before attempting this, we must first ascertain the method by which *any* maxim is established, as one of those intuitive, irresistible and universal truths. We will take as an example the truth of our own personal identity. Suppose that this were denied, and that it were maintained, that every day each one of us was changed so as to be a different person from what we were the preceding day. How could we prove the truth of our personal identity? How could we prove that the contrary doctrine was false? We could not do either—we could only bring evidence, that our personal identity is a truth universally believed by all mankind. In doing this, we should first appeal to our own consciousness. Each man believes himself to be the same person to-day as he was yesterday. And the proof of this belief is his *words, feelings and actions*. He continually talks as if he considered that he, and not another, was the person who thought, felt, and acted on a previous day. He feels remorse or pleasure for the conduct of a previous day. He *acts* on the assumption that he himself, and his fellow men are the same to-day as they were yesterday. We then appeal in the same way to the *words, feelings, and actions* of all mankind, for proof that this has been "the universal belief of all mankind, in all ages of the world." We might then appeal to the authority of the Creator himself, who in his Revelation has established the same truth. The Bible always teaches that a man is the same person on one day that he is on another, and thus is accountable for all his words and actions.

In like manner we could establish another primary truth,

(i. e.) that matter exists. Though Bish. Berkley has constructed what is called a most ingenious argument, to prove that there is no material world, but that all which we call matter, is simply conceptions or ideas in the mind, which have no real existence, yet his words, feelings and actions all prove that he still believed what he theoretically denied. The identity of Adam with all his race has been attempted to be proved, so that all his descendants willed to partake and eat the forbidden fruit, yet the words, feelings, and actions of the advocates of this theory, as well as those of all other men, have proved that they believed themselves distinct and different persons from Adam.

It is by the same method we can prove that the doctrine of such a free agency as includes the power of a contrary choice, is a primary truth, believed by all mankind. It can never be established by any process of reasoning which consists in establishing one truth by another which is already allowed. Neither can it be proved false by a process of reasoning which shows that it contradicts some other truth already allowed. It is true that those who question it, *attempt* to show that it contradicts the fundamental axiom that "every change has a cause," and it has been seen by what fallacious methods they do it. All that can be done by its advocates, is to show that it does not contradict any other acknowledged truth, and that it is itself one of those primary truths implanted in all minds, which reasoning can neither establish nor overthrow.

In doing this, we would first appeal to the individual consciousness of each man. Do you not feel that you have power to refuse to gratify the desires that arise in your mind? Do you not believe that while you have no power to prevent *desires*, you have a power to control them, and to decide which shall be gratified and which shall not? Do not your *words* prove that this is your belief? Do you not often say that you could have chosen another way, and wish you had done so? Do you not feel remorse for choosing wrong? Do you not at times practise *self-denial*, and does this consist in choosing that which at the time of choice is "the most agreeable?" Do you not perceive and believe in a difference between self-denial and self-indulgence? Do you not feel and believe that sometimes you choose to gratify strong desires, when you perceive it is not for your best



good, and at other times do you not choose to deny strong specific desires, and take what reason decides to be the greatest good? Do you not feel displeased when your fellow men treat you ill, because you believe they have power to choose to do otherwise? Do you not feel that punishment should be inflicted, not for emotions, such as *fear*, *desire*, and the like, but for acts of choice, because men have power to regulate them? Do you not feel that there is this marked difference between desire and volition, that in certain cases, we have no power to prevent desire, but that we have power over volition? Are you not continually *acting* on the assumption that you and your fellow men have power to choose differently from what you do choose? In short, do you not *talk*, *feel*, and *act*, so as to prove, that you believe the doctrine of free agency? No man who has not a theory to maintain would ever answer these questions except in the affirmative.

In like manner we appeal to the *words*, *feelings*, and *actions* of all mankind, in all ages of the world. Whatever theories of fatalism have been taught, mankind have always talked, written, felt, and acted, as if they believed they had power to choose differently from what they have chosen.

In conclusion we appeal to the authority of the Creator, who in his Revelation not only declares that men had power to choose differently from what they did choose, but assumes that they knew and believed in this power, and offers rewards, threats and encouragement on this assumption. The great fundamental duty of Christianity, which "God manifest in the flesh" came to teach and illustrate, was the duty of *self denial*, and this the Bible never teaches to consist in choosing that which "seems most agreeable."

We are now prepared to answer the question "why is it, if free agency is believed by all mankind, that it is so often denied in theory?" There may be one general reason assigned, and that is that men have often wished to have it proved false. There are two general classes who, for opposite reasons, have wished so. The first is either wicked or worldly men, who wish to find some method of throwing off all obligation and remorse for doing as they wish to do, instead of obeying God's commands. The second class consists of truly good and pious men, who imagine that there is no other way to prove God's almighty power, foreknowledge



and government, but to establish that kind of connexion between motive and volition, which makes motive a producing cause. It appears then, that, from different feelings and for different ends, wise and pious men have been united with another class, in striving to overthrow the doctrine of free agency.

We will now briefly state some of the causes which have combined to embarrass and perplex the subject, and to give plausibility to arguments in support of fatalism. The first is, a want of accurate mental analysis. This is seen in the case in which desire and volition are considered as one. It is seen also in the want of a distinction between those states of mind (such as *desire*, *fear*, etc.) which are produced by *constitutional producing* causes, and those which are not. Because *sensations* are produced by *ab extra* producing causes, and certain emotions by *constitutional* producing causes, those who speculate without careful analysis, are led to feel that *all* acts of mind are caused by *ab extra* causes. There has been the same defect in not distinguishing the two meanings included in the general axiom—"every change has a cause"—in one application (i. e.) to matter, it signifies an *ab extra* cause—but it has not this meaning in its application to mind.

The following will exhibit the occasion of another difficulty. Human minds have no method of foreseeing future events, except by experience and observation of the past. This is the only method of detecting producing causes in matter. For example, we learn that fire is the cause of combustion, because according to past observation it is an invariable antecedent of this effect, and we believe from this knowledge of the past, what its future effects will be.

In like manner we learn the producing causes of certain effects on our minds. We find that certain material things are invariable antecedents to certain sensations, and that certain conceptions are invariable antecedents to certain emotions. We therefore consider these antecedents as producing causes, and believe that their future effects will be the same as the past. If these results had not been uniform and invariable we should not have felt certain that the antecedents were the producing causes, nor should we have felt certain of the future effects.

If for example combustion took place, sometimes without

fire and sometimes with it, we should neither regard fire as the producing cause, nor feel any certainty as to the future effects. It is the *invariableness*, that enables us to detect causes and to predict future changes.

But because this is the only method by which human minds can foresee the future, it has been inferred that there is no other, and that God himself must be restricted to this method. But before there were any causes but his own mind, God foresaw all future changes. This is not denied—and it must be allowed that therefore God can foresee in a manner in which men cannot. But it is claimed that there *cannot* be any method by which God could foresee the volitions of free agents, if they have this power of originating and directing their own volitions. In order to secure to God not only the power to foresee volitions, but to themselves a power to perceive *how* he can do it, the defenders of fatalism strive to establish between motive and volition the same invariable antecedence which enables finite minds to foresee future changes in matter. By such a theory as this, they can understand *how* God can foresee human volitions. But the defenders of free agency claim that God has created free agents, with the power of contrary choice, and yet that he *can* foresee how they will act; and they maintain that it is no more needful to explain the *quo modo* of this doctrine, than it is to explain *how* it is, that God is present in all places at the same time. The *facts* that God is present every where, and that he foresees the future volitions of free agents, can be equally well understood and believed: the *quo modo* of either has never been revealed, and therefore can neither be understood nor believed.

Those who fear that the opposite doctrine will destroy God's foreknowledge and moral government, do not seem to be aware of the power that is included in God's unlimited control of desires, and of objects that excite desire.

It is God, who, by the constitution of the mind and the ordering of his providence, decides *what desires shall exist*, and it is man who decides *which* of these desires he will gratify. Now God has so ordered his providence and government, that it is always for man's highest good to do *what is right*. God never requires men to sacrifice their strongest specific desires, except to promote the greatest happiness of the whole of his great family, including that of each indi-

vidual. But for wise purposes, he places men in circumstances where strong desires will be excited for what is inconsistent with their own good, and the good of others. And in all cases, he has given them power to choose what is best for themselves and for others, and that susceptibility to happiness which makes them desire it. This conjoined agency of God and man, gives the power to God to prevent any given volition of man, by removing an object of desire, or by substituting some other in its place, and yet it leaves to man full power to choose either the one or the other of the objects of desire which God presents. And as God always does make it desirable for a man to do what is best for himself, and for all other beings, no man has reason to complain that he is under any necessity of *any* kind ever to do that which destroys his own happiness. All the power which God possesses over men's susceptibilities, and over those objects that excite desires, is employed to promote the highest happiness of man, and all sin arises from that power of free agency which makes the *mind of man* the sole *producing* cause of its sinful actions. God may be called the producing cause of volition only in this one sense, that he made the mind of man and all its powers. And he is also the producing cause of motives. But the *mind of man alone* is the real producing cause of its own volitions, in that sense in which God was the producing cause of his own volitions, before any other causes came into existence.

But there is a question which gives occasion for some difficulty and speculation. We find by past experience that there are certain general laws of volition which enable men in certain cases, to predict the future volitions of mind, with as much certainty as they do the future effects of material causes. We will state some of the general laws of mind which have been ascertained by invariable experience.

1. Mind never chooses evil only, but always chooses to gain *some kind* of good. This has been found as invariable as the laws of matter. The question is, then, has any mind the power to choose evil without any connected good? To this it may be replied, that if there is no evidence from past experience that mind ever did act thus, there is no ground from which to infer that it ever could in future act thus. But it must be borne in mind, that this does not involve the main question on which the doctrine of free agency turns.

The question involving free agency is, not whether *some kind* of good is not an invariable antecedent, and indispensable to volition, but whether the *strongest desire* is an invariable antecedent. Or in other words, the question is, not whether men are under the necessity of choosing *some kind* of good, but whether they have the power to choose the *lesser* good in order to gratify the strongest specific desire, and at the same time a power to choose the *greater* good and thus deny the strongest specific desire. It is confounding these two questions which has led to embarrassment.

2. The second general law that regulates volition is this. Whenever the strongest specific desire coincides with the dictate of the understanding, men *invariably* choose to gratify the strongest desire. Is it then true, that in this case men have no power to do otherwise, and that in this case at least, desire is the producing cause of volition? In meeting this inquiry we must again revert to the subject of intuitive truths, which are the basis of reasoning. We find the mind formed to believe certain truths from its very constitution. And all *evidence* is secured by means of these intuitive truths. For example, we have implanted as one of these intuitive truths, that *whatever has been, is and will be*, unless there is some reason to the contrary. Thus we find that the mountains always *have* stood, and therefore we believe they *are* standing and *will* stand, so long as there is no reason for a change. Now why do we believe a thing *will be* because it *has been*. All the evidence ever employed to prove that a thing *will be* so and so, always consists of proof that a thing always *has been* so. How does proving that a thing *has been* make us believe that it will be? The only answer is, that God has so formed our minds, that when past experience has been invariable, we believe the future will be the same as the past. We believe it because we cannot help it. So also when we discover an invariable antecedent in changes in matter, we believe that it is a *producing ab extra* cause. It is true that Brown and some others maintain that the idea expressed by the word *cause* is the same as the idea expressed by *invariable antecedent*. But this is denied, and it is affirmed that the discovery of an invariable antecedent does lead to another idea, and that is, the idea of a *producing cause* (or that which is invested by God with a power of *producing effects*.) This is a question, which from its nature



can only be settled by appealing to individual experience. If Brown should maintain that sugar and gall tasted exactly alike, all that could be done to prove he was false, would be to appeal to the individual experience of other men. So in regard to the idea of causation, mankind will universally say (except some theorizers,) that invariable antecedence and causation are different ideas, that when they find an invariable antecedent to changes of matter, they conceive of it as being something more, i. e. that which *produces* an effect. And it is claimed that this idea of causation, which arises when an invariable antecedent is found *to changes in matter*, is an intuitive truth, apprehended and believed by the mind, not from a process of reasoning and evidence, but from the constitution of mind itself. Like all other fundamental intuitive axioms, it can neither be proved nor disproved. Now the question in reference to the power which men have *in all cases* to choose otherwise than as they do choose, may be placed as one of these fundamental axioms. It seems to the writer as if in *all cases* we have a feeling that we *can* choose otherwise—and yet we feel certain, that in the cases where the strongest specific desire coincides with reason, we never did and never shall choose but one way, i. e. to gratify the strongest specific desire. Yet perhaps this may be questioned, and other men many say that they do not feel this consciousness of power. But however this may be, it does not touch the question of free agency, as stated and defended in the previous pages. For the power to choose *either way in those cases where the strongest desire conflicts with the reason and the generic desire of happiness*, is still established by all the evidence we can have of any thing, *viz. past experience*. We certainly have sometimes chosen one way, and sometimes the other, and therefore we have the power and can do it again.

Another occasion of embarrassment on this subject, is the want of accurate analysis in the language of common life. Motives are said *to force, to draw, to impel, to drive*, etc. In this case the word motive includes both that object which *produces* desire and the *desire* itself. Now the *object* of desire does force, impel and drive the mind as a producing cause of *desire*. Men can no more help desiring the objects of good before their minds, than a stone or wedge can help being drawn, impelled or driven. But though objects of concep-

tion are producing causes of *desire*, the desire is not the producing, but only the occasional cause of *volition*. When, therefore, causes are sought for any mental act, for example the volition to commit murder, in common parlance men would express themselves in either of these two ways—"it was *gold* that impelled him to the act"—or "it was the *desire* of gold that impelled." But if we state the thing with philosophical accuracy we should say, the gold was the *producing* cause of the *desire*, the desire was the *occasional* cause of the *volition*, and the mind itself *was the producing* cause of its own action.

Another cause of embarrassment arises from ambiguity of language. Thus it is said, "the will is as the greatest apparent good"—or, in explanation, the mind always chooses that which is "most agreeable." But this may be understood two ways. It may mean that the mind always chooses that which is *either* most agreeable to the dictates of the understanding as the greatest good on the whole, or else is most agreeable to the present feelings, as gratifying the strongest desire. If used in this sense it is true. But if it signifies that the mind *invariably* chooses what the understanding decides to be the greatest good, it is false—or if it signifies that the mind *invariably* chooses that which gratifies the strongest specific desire, it is false. It is "*agreeable*" to take the greatest good on the whole, and it is "*agreeable*" to take that which gratifies the generic desire of happiness, but there is no ground of comparison to enable us to determine which is "*the most*" agreeable, as there is in cases where specific desires conflict, for it is only specific desires that can be compared as to strength or vividness by our consciousness. There is no foundation of comparison as to *strength* in the cases where the generic desire of happiness conflicts with specific desires. It is as irrelevant and incongruous to inquire which is strongest in this case, as the inquiry as to which is the strongest, a body that reflects light, or one that tastes sweet.

Another cause of embarrassment in maintaining free agency, has arisen from the mistakes of its defenders in the use of language. Instead of writing as if the mind itself were the thing which had powers of feeling and action, the will is spoken of as a separate and distinct existence, having powers and qualities—as if it could be excited or be indifferent, and could determine, previous to a given volition, what that

volition should be. This involved the absurdity of supposing each volition created by a previous volition as a producing cause, or else as having no producing cause at all. The liberty claimed by the defenders of free agency has been called the liberty of indifference, and the will has been described as being in equilibrio. But the will is not a separate existence to which qualities and actions can be ascribed. It is *the mind itself* which is excited, and which is moved by desire, or motive, and *the will* is the power which the mind has, to choose which of several co-existing desires shall be gratified. And it is as improper to speak of the power of willing, as being excited and in equilibrio, as it is to speak of the power of seeing, as being thus excited or in equilibrio.

Another difficulty has been occasioned by the assumption that *contingency* is synonymous with *no cause*. To make this matter clear, certain definitions must be referred to. A thing is *necessary absolutely* when there is no power *any where* to make it otherwise. A thing is necessary relatively, when *we* have no power to make it otherwise. A thing is *absolutely contingent*, when there are causes somewhere that have power to make it otherwise. A thing is *relatively contingent* when *we* have power to make it otherwise.

If God has no power to will any otherwise than as he does, then *every thing* is *absolutely necessary*. There is *no* power that could make any thing otherwise. If *we* have no power to will otherwise than as we do, then so far as we are concerned our volitions are necessary—but otherwise they are *relatively contingent*, i. e. we have power to make them otherwise. Contingency, as used by the defenders of free agency does not signify *no cause*, but the existence of a power to do otherwise, so that a volition might have been otherwise.

Another embarrassment in meeting the arguments of many defenders of fatalism is, their claim that they still are believers in the doctrine of free agency, and that the doctrine they advocate does not conflict with the doctrine of human liberty or free agency. And the method by which they perplex, and give plausibility, is by making a definition of free agency which is not inconsistent with fatalism.

Now every man, even fatalists, will allow, that there is a liberty which consists in being able *to do as we please*. For example when we please, or choose to move our body, and this change follows our volition, then we are said to be at



liberty, but when this change does not follow our volition, because our body is confined, then we are not at liberty. Free agency then, according to the definition of those who maintain its consistency with fatalism, is "*the power to do as we please.*" But did any man on earth ever deny that mankind very often had this power? Did any man ever deny this kind of free agency? If fatalism is the denial of this sort of free agency, who was ever a fatalist?

But this is not the free agency which Priestly opposes. He opposes the doctrine of free agency as consisting in "the power of a contrary choice." He teaches, to use the language of another, that "while the mind continues in precisely the same state, in the same circumstances, and under the same influence, of every kind, it has no power to will in opposite directions"—or, to use the words of another, "that the volitions of moral agents are necessary events; or which is the same thing, events which it is impossible that they should not come to pass." These are different words to express the same idea as Priestly expresses when he says, "in any given state of mind, with respect both to *disposition* and *motive*, two different determinations are impossible." Now if free agency is allowed to signify merely "the power to do as we please" (i. e. the power which our volitions have to produce changes in outward things) then a man may be a fatalist, and yet believe and teach free agency, but if free agency consists in "the power of contrary choice" then any one who holds this, cannot consistently adopt fatalism, in any of the forms of speech in which it is expressed.

It is curious to observe how this definition of free agency leads to the modification of various other terms. For example, when it is urged by the opposers of fatalism, that if there is no other kind of free agency but "the power to do as we please," then there is no virtue in God or men, it is then claimed that virtue has no relation to *the cause* of virtuous acts,—that if a mind only chooses right, it is a virtuous mind, and it makes no difference whether it is the cause of its own actions, or has these actions produced in it, by some *ab extra* cause. According to this, virtue in God consists in being so constituted, that he has no power to choose, except according to the rules of wisdom and benevolence.

It is also amusing to perceive how adroitly the most acute defenders of fatalism hide the greatest difficulties of their



theory, not by removing the difficulties, but by showing that the defenders of free agency, through inadvertency and want of clear discrimination in the use of terms, are themselves involved in the same, or a worse predicament.

We would close this article by asking the reader to settle these points :

1. In what does fatalism consist ?
2. What are the different forms of speech, in which the doctrine is expressed ?
3. Is there any difference in the real meaning conveyed by these forms ?
4. Is not fatalism a most pernicious doctrine in its tendencies, and does it make any difference in the evil, whether it is taught by a wise and pious man, or by a skeptic ?
5. What are the books in which fatalism is taught, and by whose influence and authority are they sustained ?

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## ARTICLE VIII.

### **IS IT MORALLY WRONG TO DRINK WINE OR STRONG DRINK, WHICH WHEN TAKEN IN EXCESS PRODUCES INTOXICATION ?**

By Lewis Mayer, D. D., Prof. Theol., Theol. Sem. Germ. Ref. Church, Mercersburg, Pa.]

THE moral law is the law that binds the conscience. The law that binds the conscience can be no other than the will of God. An act is morally right if it is agreeable to the will of God. It is morally wrong if it is contrary to or inconsistent with the will of God.

To show that it is morally wrong to drink wine or strong drink, it is therefore necessary to show that it is contrary to the will of God to drink them.

The Holy Scriptures contain a revelation of the will of God, and are a perfect rule of faith and morals; so that what is not contained in them, or cannot be proved by them, cannot be shown to be required by the will of God, and to be a part of the rule or law which a Christian is conscientiously bound to obey. It is therefore not morally wrong to

do what the Scriptures do not forbid, or to neglect doing what they do not enjoin.

In the Holy Scriptures, however, we must distinguish what is local and temporary from what is designed to be of universal and perpetual obligation. The distinction of clean and unclean meats, and of holy and common days in the Jewish sense, and the whole Mosaic ritual, was local and temporary, being designed only for the Jews, and limited to the time which preceded the coming of Messiah. So the advice given by Paul to the Corinthians, to abstain from marriage, was temporary, being based upon the existing distress. 1 Cor. 7: 25, etc. The argument in 1 Cor. 11: 4, etc. respecting a man's praying with his head covered, and a woman's praying with her head uncovered, and the wearing of long or short hair, and the directions which are based upon it, are both local and temporary, having reference only to the customs and opinions of the people of that age and country.

We must also distinguish what was only permitted from the necessity of the case, and what was allowed, either expressly or by implication, with the approbation of God. The practice of polygamy was permitted, or rather was not forbidden, in the Old Testament, though it is condemned in the New Testament, probably because in the times of Moses and the prophets the evil was too deeply rooted and the public mind too unprepared, to suffer the abolition of it without introducing a greater evil. So the practice of divorce, as it existed under the Mosaic law, was permitted to the Jews, as Jesus declares, on account of the hardness of their hearts, and is therefore abolished under the Christian dispensation. See Matth. 19: 3—9.

Therefore, if it could be shown that the use of wine and strong drink was only tolerated in the Old Testament, like polygamy and divorce, or that the permission to use them had only a temporary and local bearing, the lawfulness of using them could never be proved. But neither can the unlawfulness be proved by prohibitions which have only a temporary and local application.

The Holy Scriptures condemn drunkenness as a sin. "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess." Ephes. 5: 18. "Wo unto them that rise up early in the morning, that they may follow strong drink; that continue till night, till wine inflame them." Isaiah 5: 11.

In forbidding drunkenness the Scriptures forbid all that excess in the use of wine and strong drink from which drunkenness may arise ; but they do not forbid all use of them. So the Scriptures forbid gluttony, which is excess in eating, but do not thereby intend that we shall not eat at all. They teach us that, "every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving." 1 Tim. 4 : 4. And when Paul taught the Philippians, "Let your moderation be known unto all men," he doubtless meant that they might enjoy all things with moderation. Philip. 4 : 5. It is not the use of the creatures of God, but the abuse of them that constitutes sin, and is condemned in the Holy Scriptures. All excess is an abuse, whether it be in meat, or in drink, or in any other enjoyment of life. It is by this that health is injured, life is shortened, and body and mind are disqualified for the ends to which they are appointed. It is also an abuse of the gifts of God when they are applied to purposes for which he has not designed them ; as when that which is given as a medicine is converted into food, or drink ; or that which is designed to feed the poor is wasted upon dogs, or thrown away for manure.

It is alleged that the Holy Scriptures have in several places enjoined total abstinence from wine and strong drink, and that pious men have abstained from them with manifest tokens of divine approbation ; and we are referred to the prohibitions given to the priests, Lev. 10 : 8, 9 ; to the Nazarites, Numbers 6 : 3 ; to kings and princes, Prov. 31 : 4, 5 ; and to the example of the Rechabites, Jeremiah 35 : 1—19, and of Daniel, Dan. 1 : 3—16. If it could be shown that these texts, or others like them, make it the duty of all to abstain wholly from the use of wine and strong drink, they would be examples of inconsistency and contradiction in the Bible which would furnish ground for very serious objection to its divine authority. But none of these texts will support the argument which they are brought to prove. They are only exceptions from the general practice to drink wine and strong drink, and from the permission to do so.

A Nazarite was required to abstain from wine and strong drink only while his vow was upon him, and was expressly permitted to drink wine again when the time to which the vow was limited had expired. Numb. 6 : 20. He was obliged during the same time to abstain from the produce of



the vine in every form ; from vinegar ; from grapes, whether fresh or dried ; and even from the seed and the husks of the grape. Neither was he permitted to have his hair shorn, nor to touch a dead body, though it were the corpse of a brother or a parent. If the prohibition of wine during the time of his vow proved that God disapproved the use of it, the other prohibitions proved also that all those other things were disapproved by him. The true reason of the interdiction of all these things to the Nazarite was the fact, that abstinence from them was esteemed a severe privation, and was therefore a suitable test of the Nazarite's fidelity.

The interdiction of wine and strong drink to the priests in Lev. 10 : 8, 9, and also in Ezekiel 44 : 21, was limited to the times when they went into the sanctuary of the congregation to perform the sacred rites. This limitation implied that at all other times they might drink : and accordingly the people were required by the law of Moses to bring the tithe of the produce of their vineyards, as well as of all their other increase to the priests and Levites. Deut. 18 : 26—31.

The Rechabites, whose history is given in Jeremiah 35 : 1—19, were commanded by their ancestor Jonadab, "Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build house, nor sow seed, nor plant vineyard, nor have any ; but all your days ye shall dwell in tents ; that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers." These commands of their father imposed upon them a severe privation, yet they obeyed them with religious fidelity, and persevered in their obedience when the prophet tempted them to violate them by drinking wine. Their behaviour toward their common father, in observing with such unbroken faithfulness the heavy injunctions he had laid upon them, is contrasted with that of the Jews toward their God in refusing obedience to his just and reasonable laws ; and the commendation which is bestowed upon them is not bestowed for their abstinence from wine, any more than it is for their building no houses, having no lands, planting no vineyards, and sowing no seed ; but for their faithful obedience to the commands of their father Jonadab.

In Proverbs 31 : 4, 5, the sacred writer addresses himself to a king whom he calls Lemuel : "It is not for kings, O Lemuel, it is not for kings to drink wine ; nor for princes strong



drink, lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted. Give strong drink unto him that is ready to perish, and wine unto those that be of heavy heart. Let him drink and forget his poverty, and remember his misery no more."

It may be remarked here, by the way, that the terms *wine* and *strong drink* are interchanged as convertible terms; the wine was strong drink, and the strong drink was wine.

It is evident from the connection of this passage, that the author did not advise kings and princes to abstain from wine because he considered the use of it as a drink immoral; for in that case he would not have allowed it to the poor and miserable. For the latter he recommended wine as an exhilarating beverage; and when he says, "It is not for kings to drink wine," he uses the verb *to drink* in an emphatic sense, and means that kings should not drink as freely as the poor and miserable, lest they should forget the law and pervert justice. That this is the meaning of the place is proved by the fact that the same author who wrote the Proverbs gives this advice in the book of Ecclesiastes, as the result of his observation of human life: "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine with a cheerful heart; for God now accepteth thy works." Eccles. 9: 7. He addressed this advice to the man whose works God accepted; that is, to the pious man. He therefore considered the use of wine as a drink consistent with piety.

Concerning Daniel we are told, "But Daniel purposed in his heart that he would not defile himself with the portion of the king's meat, nor with the wine which he drank," etc. Dan. 1: 8. Daniel was then a youth and a prisoner of war in Babylon. The king of the Chaldeans had given orders that some of the choicest of the Hebrew youth should be trained for officers of his palace. "And the king appointed them a daily provision of the king's meat, and of the wine which he drank: so nourishing them three years, that at the end thereof they might stand before the king." Daniel had as much objection to the meat which was appointed for him as to the wine; and his whole objection to both was *that they would defile him*. The meat and the wine of which the king partook seem to have been consecrated with some idolatrous ceremonies, and were for that reason unclean and unlawful to a Jew. On this account Daniel would have

defiled himself if he had partaken of them. He had the address to persuade the superintendent, *Melzar*, to give him and his Hebrew associates a trial of ten days with pulse to eat and water to drink: and “at the end of ten days their countenances appeared fairer and fatter in flesh, than all the children which did eat of the portion of the king’s meat.” In this case the wine was not refused because it was wine, any more than the meat because it was meat; but both were refused because they were defiled with heathenish rites, and for that reason unlawful. That Daniel drank wine at his meals afterwards when he was in power, appears from Dan. 10: 3.

It has been asserted that the apostle Paul abstained from wine. If the assertion were proved, Paul’s example would amount to no more than that of any other Christian, unless it could be shown that he required others to imitate him in it. But on what ground the assertion is made does not appear. In Romans 14: 21, he said, “It is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.” It will not be inferred from this text that Paul ate no flesh. Neither can it be inferred that he drank no wine.

In this text the apostle has reference to the controversy subsisting among Christians respecting the lawfulness under the Christian dispensation of certain things which were prohibited by the law of Moses. This question is discussed in Rom. 14: 1—23, 1 Cor. 8: 1—13, 1 Cor. 10: 14—23.

The Heathens offered animals in sacrifice to their gods. A part of the animal was offered to the god, and the rest was consumed in a feast in the idol’s temple, of which the sacrificer invited his friends to partake. The feast as well as the sacrifice being in honor of the idol, it was contrary to the law of Moses to partake of it, and the Jewish converts, who esteemed that law of perpetual obligation, considered such participation sinful. Some of the Gentile converts also, it is probable, could not divest themselves of the thought that the idol was a real being, though a false divinity, and that a participation in the feast would be an act of idolatrous worship. Others of the Gentile converts, and perhaps some of the Jewish also, esteemed the idol a mere nullity, and the feast a common feast of which they might lawfully partake, as well as of any other meal; and in this persuasion they ac-

cepted invitations to such feasts, and ate of the flesh and drank of the wine which were offered to the idol, as they would have eaten of any other flesh and drank of any other wine. But their weaker brethren, who could not like them see that the idol was a mere nullity, nor feel the same contempt for it, or could not perceive that the law of Moses had no application to them, held such eating and drinking to be sinful, or doubted, at least, of its lawfulness; and yet, when they saw their brethren accept invitations to the feast, and eat and drink freely, they were induced by such examples in those whom they respected as brethren, contrary to their conscientious scruples, to eat and drink also; and thus, doing with conscientious doubts what their brethren did with a full persuasion of the innocence of the act, they committed sin and fell under condemnation. The Jewish converts in Rome, or some of them at least, seem to have been stricter than those in Corinth; or, perhaps, some of the converts in both places were stricter than others. These not only shunned the feasts in the idol's temple, but refused the flesh which was sold in the Heathen markets, and lived upon vegetables only; probably because all the flesh in the markets was considered as polluted by contact with persons or things that were unclean by the law of Moses. But, while they entertained these opinions, they saw their brethren, who thought differently, eat that flesh without hesitation, and wanting firmness of purpose, they were induced by such examples to eat also in violation of their consciences, and in so doing committed sin.

It is of such eating and drinking that the Apostle speaks when he says, "It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak;" and in 1 Cor. viii. 13, "Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no meat while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend."

The principle which is here laid down is this. It is the duty of a Christian to abstain from doing that which his Christian brother esteems sinful, *when* his example would induce his brother to do the same thing in violation of his conscience, and thus to commit sin. That this is the Apostle's meaning appears more fully from 1 Cor. viii. 10: "For if any man see thee who hast knowledge, sit at meat in the idol's temple, shall not the conscience of him that is weak be



emboldened to eat those things which are offered unto idols? And through thy knowledge shall the weak brother perish for whom Christ died?" Such a conduct on the part of a Christian towards his weaker brethren, the Apostle considered unchristian and therefore immoral: "But if thy brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat for whom Christ died."—"Happy is he who condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth." Rom. 14: 15, 22. "But when ye so sin against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ," 1 Cor. 8: 12.

This principle has no application to the question, whether it be lawful to use wine as a drink. Before it can be applied, it must appear that there are conscientious persons who believe such a use of wine to be sinful, and that my using of it will induce them to use it also in violation of their consciences, and will thus ensnare them in sin. It must appear also that their conscientious scruples are honest scruples of conscience, that rest upon some law of God, or some principle of morality, and not a mere conceit of voluntary ignorance, or of an overheated and lawless imagination. If my neighbor thinks it sinful to put up a lightning-rod for the protection of his property, or to use vaccination for the prevention of small pox, it is not my duty to forbear doing such things lest I may cause him to offend his conscience. So if my neighbor thinks it sinful to drink wine, he must be able to show some law of God, or some acknowledged principle of morals, as the foundation of his belief, before it can be my duty to respect his scruples, so as to abstain for his sake. Even in that case I am under no obligation to abstain, if my example is not likely to ensnare him. "Why is my liberty judged by another man's conscience? And if I by grace am a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?" 1 Cor. 10: 29, 30.

One man's conscience cannot be a rule of conduct for another. If it could, then it might be my duty to refrain from doing a thing because my neighbor thinks it wrong, and, at the same time, his duty to do it because I think it right; and the two conflicting duties would thus destroy one another. To yield to the conscience of another can be a duty only as an act of condescension and charity by the stronger to the weaker, and it can exist only in a case where scruples of



conscience are sincere, and cannot be removed, and where the subject of them would be exposed to the danger of sinning if the requisite forbearance were refused.

Having shown that the Scriptures do not forbid the use of wine and strong drink, either expressly, or by implication, I shall next inquire whether they permit the use of them, and present it in a favorable light.

It is proper here to remark, that by the *strong drink* which is so often mentioned in the Scriptures, we are not to understand distilled liquors, such as the ardent spirits of modern times. All the strong drinks of the ancient Jews were fermented liquors, and belonged to the same category as our wine, cider, beer, etc. With the art of distilling liquors the Hebrews were not acquainted. The Hebrew word, שֵׁכָר which is commonly translated *strong drink*, is a generic term denoting all the kinds of strong drinks which were then known, and therefore includes wine. In Numb. 28: 7, it is translated *strong wine*. Elsewhere it is usually joined with יַיִן wine; and in the parallelism of the poetic books it answers to יַיִן wine, and therefore means the same thing. See Is. 5: 11, 24: 9, 28: 7, 29: 9, 56: 12, Prov. 20: 1, 31: 6, Micah, 2: 11, Is. 5: 22. In Numbers, 6: 20, the single term *wine* is substituted for the terms *wine and strong drink* in verse 3. When the terms *wine and strong drink* are joined together, they may be taken for the figure *hendyadis*, by which two nouns are used instead of a noun and an adjective, and the one noun consequently defines the other. In such a conjunction of these terms the wine is defined to be strong drink, and the strong drink to be wine. We read of "wine upon the lees," which was esteemed of superior excellency, Isaiah 25: 6. It was wine which had been left standing upon the lees to improve its strength. Mixed wine is mentioned Prov. 9: 2, 5, and 23: 30. The ancient Hebrews did not adulterate their wines by mixing them with ardent spirits; for, as we have already remarked, ardent spirits was unknown to them. They mixed them with spices to make them more palatable and pungent. Such was the wine which Wisdom is represented to have mingled, in Prov. 9: 2, 5. Sometimes also wine was mixed with drugs that gave it a red color and made it more intoxicating. This wine was preferred only by drunkards, who are described in Prov. 23:

29, 35. "Who hath wo? Who hath sorrows? Who hath contentions? Who hath babbling? Who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its color in the cup, when it moveth itself aright. At the last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder," etc. The wine was red when it was mixed, and those who went to seek it, and looked with pleasure upon it, were those who tarried long at the wine. The same sort of mixed wine is mentioned in Ps. 75: 8, "In the hand of the Lord there is a cup, and the wine is red; it is full of mixture." All the wines of the Hebrews were intoxicating when taken in excess; but if they were unmixed, a larger quantity was required to produce that effect.

Wine was probably more abundant in Palestine than cider is with us. The country was commended as a land of vines and of vineyards, as well as on account of its other excellencies. See Deut. 6: 11, 8: 8, Joshua 24: 13, Neh. 9: 25. Every family that possessed a piece of land had its own vineyard, as well as its olive-yard, and its fields for grain. Neh. 5: 3, 5. Hence arose the proverbial saying, to sit under one's own vine and fig tree, as a description of civil and domestic happiness. 1 Kings 4: 25, Micah 4: 4, Zachariah, 3: 10.

The estimation in which wine was held by the ancient Hebrews, appears from the parable of Jotham, in Judges 9: 13, where the trees are represented to invite the vine to come and reign over them, and the vine replies, "Shall I leave my wine *that cheereth God and man*, and go to reign over the trees?" The words in italics should be translated, *that cheereth gods and men*. The term *gods*, in the Hebrew אֱלֹהִים denotes an order of invisible beings superior to man, and is translated *angels* in Ps. 8: 5. Such was the value which was put upon wine, that, in the strong, bold, and hyperbolical style of the Orientals, it was represented as worthy even of the celestial beings who dwell above our world. The most pious Jews spoke of wine as a valuable gift of God. So the author of the 104th Psalm, celebrating the wisdom and the goodness of God, says, "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man, that he may bring forth fruit out of the earth; and wine that maketh glad the heart of man, and oil to make his face to shine, and bread

which strengtheneth man's heart." The patriarch Isaac, in blessing his son Jacob, said, "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and the fatness of the earth, *and plenty of corn and wine.*" Jacob also, in blessing his son Judah, described his future felicity in the land of promise thus: "Binding his foal unto the vine, and his ass's colt unto the choice vine; he washed his garments in wine, and his clothes in the blood of the grape."

Wine was used by the Jews and other Orientals at their feasts. A feast was called "a banquet of wine." Esther 5: 6, 7: 7,—a feast of fat things, a feast of wines on the lees, of fat things full of marrow, of wines on the lees well refined; Isaiah 25: 6. The sons and daughters of Job "were eating and drinking wine in their eldest brother's house," Job 1: 13. Weddings were celebrated with feasting, and on such occasions wine was considered indispensable, as appears from the remark of Mary the mother of Jesus, at the marriage in Cana, when the supply of wine was exhausted, "They have not wine." The innocence of these festivities, when they were free from excess, is shown by the example of Jesus, who accepted an invitation to one of them, and wrought his first miracle to supply the want of wine, when the store on hand had been used up. John 2: 1, 11.

Bread and wine were in common use as refreshments, especially on journeys, and constituted a portion of the provision of the table. When Abraham returned from the pursuit of Chedorlaomer, Melchisedek, the King of Salem and priest of God, brought out bread and wine as a refreshment for him and his men. Gen. 14: 18. The Gibeonites, who came to Joshua to make a league with Israel, said to him, "*This our bread* we took hot for our provisions out of our houses on the day we came forth to go unto you: but now, behold, it is dry, and it is mouldy; and *these bottles of wine* which we filled were new, and behold, they be rent."\* The travelling Israelite said to the old man who accosted him in the street of Gibeah, "I am now going to the house of the Lord, and there is no man that receiveth me to house. Yet there is both straw and provender for our asses; *and there is bread and wine also* for me, and for thy handmaid, and for the young man which is with thy servants: there is no want of

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\* Josh. 9: 12, 13.



any thing." Judges 19 : 18, 19. When David and all Israel with him, had brought up the ark of God from the house of Obed-Edom to the city of David, he dealt out among all the people, at their departure, "even among the whole multitude of Israel, as well to the women as to the men, to every one *a cake of bread*, and a good piece of flesh, *and a flagon of wine*. So all the people departed, every one to his own home." 2 Sam. 6 : 19. When Nehemiah governed the people of Judah, provision was made for his table daily of oxen, sheep, and fowls, and once in ten days, *store of all sorts of wine* : and the governors who had preceded him had taken from the people *bread and wine* as a tribute. Neh. 5 : 15, 18. The pious king David had his vineyards and his wine cellars, and appointed an officer to preside over the care of each : Shimei was over the vineyards, and Zabdi over the increase of the vineyards for the wine cellars. 1 Chron. 27 : 27.

As abundance of corn and wine was a blessing which the people desired, and God bestowed, so a scarcity of both was felt as a calamity and a divine judgment. "There is a crying for wine in the streets ; all joy is darkened, the mirth of the land is gone." Isaiah 24 : 11. "Lament like a virgin girded with sackcloth for the husband of her youth. The meat offering and the drink offering is cut off from the house of the Lord, the priests, the Lord's ministers mourn. The field is wasted, the land mourneth ; for the corn is wasted ; *the new wine is dried up*, the oil languisheth. Be ye ashamed, O ye husbandmen, howl, *O ye vine-dressers*, for the wheat and for the barley ; because the harvest of the field is perished. *The vine is dried up*, and the fig tree languisheth ; the pomegranate, the palm-tree also, and the apple-tree, even all the trees of the field are withered : because joy is withered away from the sons of men." Joel 1 : 8—12.

Among the calamities which God threatened to bring upon his people, it is enumerated as one, that "they should build houses, but should not dwell in them : *they should plant vineyards, but should not drink of the wine thereof*." Zephaniah 1 : 13, Amos 5 : 11. And in a description of the happiness which the people should enjoy when God would bring them back from their captivity, it is said : "Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that the ploughman shall overtake the reaper, *and the treader of grapes* him that soweth seed ; *and the*



*mountains shall drop new wine, and all the hills shall melt.\** And I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel, and they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them, *and they shall plant vineyards and drink the wine thoreof*; they shall also make gardens and eat the fruit of them." Amos 9 : 13, 14.

But what is most to the purpose, and must end the controversy, is the fact that Jesus himself conformed to the common practice and drank wine. In Matthew 11 : 18, 19, upbraiding the unbelieving Jews, whom nothing would satisfy, with their perverseness, the Lord observed : " John came *neither eating nor drinking*, and they say, He hath a devil. The Son of man came eating and drinking, and they say, *Behold, a man gluttonous and a wine-bibber*, a friend of publicans and sinners." John the Baptist *neither ate nor drank* ; that is, he abstained from what all others ordinarily ate and drank. His meat, we are told, was locusts and wild honey. Matth. 3 : 4. What his drink was we are not informed, but it could be nothing more simple than water. A man, therefore, who used only locusts and wild honey for food, and water for his drink, differed so much in his living from other men, that he was said not to eat nor drink at all. Jesus differed entirely in this respect from John : he practised no austerities, and refused none of the gifts of God when they were placed before him, but ate and drank freely what was ordinarily eaten and drunk by other men ; and for this reason he was called a glutton and a wine-bibber. He was neither the one nor the other ; but there must have been some pretext for the charge ; and the same for calling him a wine-bibber as there was for calling him a glutton. If, like the Baptist, he had neither eaten nor drank at all, they would not have applied to him these epithets, but would have said, He hath a devil ; that is, he is insane or crazy, because he lives so differently from all other men, and rejects all the comforts of life. They did not blame him for differing in this respect from John ; but they blamed him for differing from themselves ; not that he ate and drank too much, but that he

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\* " And all the hills shall melt," would be better rendered, *So that all the hills shall flow*, namely, with the abundance of the new wine dropping upon them.

ate and drank every day, and did not, like them, fast twice a week.

It has been alleged that the wine which Jesus drank at the Jewish passovers, and which he used in the institution of the supper, was unfermented wine, which would not intoxicate; and it will therefore be urged that the wine which he ordinarily drank was of the same description. To establish this position it must be shown that the wine which the Jews usually drank was unfermented wine; or that Jesus differed from them in the wine which he drank. Neither of these two propositions has yet been proved.

We have been referred to Gen. 40: 9—11; from which place it appears that in Joseph's time the king of Egypt drank the juice of the grape as it was newly pressed out into his cup with the fingers; and from this the inference has been drawn that the wine of the ancient Hebrews was the unfermented juice of the grape. It should be remembered, however, that an Egyptian custom is not of course applicable to Palestine. In Egypt the religion of the country prohibited the use of wine as a drink, but permitted the eating of grapes and the drinking of the juice when pressed into the cup with the hand. The prohibition was probably founded in political causes. Egypt produces very little wine. If wine had been used as a drink, it must have been imported from other countries, and would thus have drained the country of its wealth instead of enriching it. On this account it was excluded; and to give effect to the exclusion, it was artfully made a part of their religion.\* The religion of the Jews, on the contrary, both permitted the use of wine as a drink, and numbered it among the divine blessings. Hence the Jews had not only vineyards, but also wine-presses and wine-cellar, and used the juice of the grape freely after it had fermented.

Much has been said about the difference between the Hebrew terms תִּירוֹשׁ *thiresh*, and יַיִן *yayin*, both of which are translated *wine* in the Old Testament. The former, it is said, means *must*, unfermented, and not intoxicating; and the latter designates fermented must, or intoxicating wine. The former alone, it is alleged, is ever mentioned in the Scripture with approbation; the latter always with some mark of

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\* See Michaelis Mosaisches Recht., § 190, vol. 4.

disapprobation. This however is incorrect ; both are spoken of with approbation ; and excess only in either of them is condemned. It is recorded of Melchizedek that he brought out bread and wine, יַיִן, as refreshments for Abraham and his men, when it is remarked that he was a priest of the Most High God, Gen. 14: 18. Solomon says, "Go thy way, eat thy bread with joy, and drink thy wine, יַיִן with a cheerful heart, *for God now accepteth thy works.*" Eccles. 9: 7. The author of the 104th Psalm gratefully remarks upon the goodness of God, "He causeth the grass to grow for the cattle, and herb for the service of man: that he may bring forth food out of the earth ; and wine, יַיִן that maketh glad the heart of man." In Amos God promised that, when he would turn again the captivity of his people, they should build houses and inhabit them ; they should plant vineyards and drink of the wine thereof, יַיִן—Amos 9: 14. On the contrary, הָרוֹשׁ is mentioned with disapprobation in Hosea 4: 11, where it is translated *new wine*: "Whoredom and wine, and new wine, take away the heart."

In the last text הָרוֹשׁ as well as יַיִן is accounted an intoxicating liquor that "takes away the heart." The name itself indicates this quality: הָרוֹשׁ is from the root יָרַשׁ to possess. It is so called, because, when taken in excess, it possesses the person who drinks it, and overpowers him. In the New Testament γλευκος, new wine, which seems to be the same as the Hebrew הָרוֹשׁ is also spoken of as intoxicating: "These men are full of new wine." Acts 2: 13. It has been asserted that the Jews possessed the art of preserving their must, or new wine, unfermented. But if they did, it does not appear that they practised it much ; for, so far as I can find any historical evidence, all their wines were intoxicating. If most of their wines, or only some of them, were of a different character, and as harmless in the copious use of them as water, we might expect to meet with some distinction in their exhortations to sobriety, and to find them wholly forbid *one sort* of wine, while they permit another. But no such distinction is ever made ; and while they recognise no difference between one kind of wine and another, they forbid only excess in the use of any wine whatever: "Be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess." Eph. 5: 18. A bishop must not be *given* to wine.—A bishop must not be

“given to much wine.”—Let us not walk “*in excess* of wine.” 1 Tim. 3: 3, 8, Titus 1: 7, 1 Peter 4: 3.

The wine of the Hebrews was probably called new wine, until the vintage of the next succeeding year, when it was called old, and the wine of the new vintage took its place as new wine. By this time it had completed its process of fermentation and improved its flavor. That the old wine was more palatable than the new, and that the Jews drank it in preference when they could obtain it, appears from Luke 5: 39, where Jesus says, “No man having drunk old wine, straightway desireth new; for he saith, The old is better.”

It may be remarked here, why was the old wine better than the new, if it had undergone no change since it was expressed from the grape? But if it passed through a change as it grew older, and in consequence of growing older, what could the change be, if it was not the vinous fermentation? That the Jews did permit their wines to ferment, appears from the same place in Luke, verses 37, 38: “No man putteth new wine into old bottles; else the new wine will burst the bottles, and be spilled, and the bottles shall perish. But new wine must be put into new bottles, and both are preserved.” The bottles were bags made of leather. If they were old, they were worn and brittle, and the new wine would burst them by its fermentation. To prevent this evil and loss, new and strong leathern bottles were used, that they might have strength enough to resist the pressure of the fermenting wine. This manner of treating new wine is referred to here as something that was of ordinary occurrence; and we are therefore authorized to conclude that it was at least the common practice of the Jews to let their wine ferment before it was put away for use.

From all this the conclusion follows, that the wine which Jesus drank was fermented wine; and that he differed in nothing from other Jews who drank it, except in this, he never drank to excess.

I have now shown that the Holy Scriptures not only do not forbid the use of wine as a drink, but expressly permit it; and that it is sanctioned by the example of Jesus himself. It is therefore certain that the use of wine as a drink is not immoral.\*

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\* It does not appear to us that the respected author of the preceding argument has proved all that is here claimed.



IS IT EXPEDIENT TO ABSTAIN TOTALLY FROM ALL DRINKS  
THAT MAY INTOXICATE?\*

The question here is not respecting abstinence from ardent spirits, about which we have at present no dispute, but respecting wine, cider, beer, etc., all of which it is said, will intoxicate, if taken in excess. Those with whom we are

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That the use of wine as a drink, in the times and circumstances of the Scripture history and of our Saviour's life and example, *was not immoral*, we think he has clearly and ably shown. This conclusion, being sustained by the authority of inspired truth and sanctioned by the example of Him who knew no sin, must be admitted. Thus far we cheerfully go with our author. We fear not the consequences of his learned and candid exposition of biblical instruction on this much agitated question. We rejoice in the truth as it radiates from its own oracles, and would gladly relinquish any opinion, however long or confidently it may have been cherished, which is found to conflict with the authority of truth. But our author appears to have extended his conclusion, in this instance, beyond the limits of his premises. To our mind it is neither legitimate nor conclusive to infer from the fact that, in the times of the prophets and apostles the use of wine as a drink was not immoral, that therefore it can not be immoral now. Circumstances may have become so changed, and the abuse and adulteration of a good thing may have become so universal, as to render the use of it a greater evil than the sacrifice involved in its relinquishment. The preceding argument, therefore, does not prove that, in other times and circumstances, the use of wine as a drink may not be immoral. The principles of expediency, so clearly stated by our author, in his discussion which follows, we think fully sustain these remarks. This we shall endeavor to show in a subsequent note. EDITOR.

\* As this question has been of late so much discussed in the religious newspapers, and in the numerous publications of Temperance Societies, a discussion of it here may appear to some to be superfluous. After a careful perusal of our author's argument, we have judged otherwise. The subject is one of the highest practical importance. It is worthy of a thorough investigation. Arguments, therefore, on both sides of the question, ought to be carefully and candidly weighed; and the learning and ability of the present article commend it to the consideration of our readers. Some of the views and conclusions of the author differ from our own, and, as we believe,

now concerned, yield the question of morality,\* and urge, as the reason of the abstinence which they require, the *expediency* of it for the purpose of putting down and of preventing intemperance in the community.

Expediency is the suitableness of means to an end. Whatever is expedient, is expedient for something which is the end or purpose designed and aimed at. It is expedient for me to do the will of God, if I desire to be happy; it is expedient for the man of business to be punctual in meeting his engagements if he would maintain his credit; it is expedient for the liar to frame a consistent story, if he would avoid detection; it is expedient for the miser to disregard the claims of charity and mercy, if he would hoard up his treasures. Expediency will equally adapt itself to every end, whether good or bad, and will authorize any means, whether right or wrong, that are conducive to the end. It is therefore a principle that cannot of *itself* constitute a rule of conduct, and cannot be justly urged until it is shown that the end which is proposed is good.

When the end that is aimed at is good, and is attainable by means that are also good, it is right, or what is the same, it is consistent with the will of God, to choose that end as the object of pursuit; and all the means which are *necessary* to the attainment of it are also right, or consistent with the divine will. In this case expediency is, by virtue of this connection, resolved into *right*; that is, into consistency with the will of God; but it does not become *duty*. For example, to guard my property against the effects of lightning is good, and consistent with the divine will. The necessary means for this end is a conductor suitably made and put up. To have a conductor so made and put up is therefore expe-

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from those of a majority of the friends of temperance in this country. They are however expressed with candor and precision. Even those who dissent from his arguments will derive instruction from the discrimination with which his views are presented, and will better understand the strength or weakness of their own positions. We therefore cheerfully insert the article, having the permission of the author to express our dissent from his views on several points. EDITOR.

\* On the question of morality we will remark in a subsequent note. EDITOR.

dient for the protection of my property against lightning ; and it is, at the same time, right, and consistent with the will of God to do so ; but it is not a duty, and I commit no sin by neglecting it.

If it be shown that a contemplated end is not only consistent with the will of God, but is also required by it, it is then not only right to choose that end as an object of pursuit, but it is at the same time a duty to do so. It is then also a duty to use all the means that are requisite for the attainment of the end : it is expedient to use those means ; and in this case expediency is identical with duty. For example, if I am in debt, and my debts cannot be paid if my property be lost by fire, it is expedient to have my property insured that I may be able to pay my debts in the event of such a loss ; but as it is my *duty* to secure my creditors, as far as it may be in my power, it is my duty also to do whatever is expedient for that object ; and in this case therefore expediency and duty are the same.

Expediency requires only the use of such means as are *requisite* to the attainment of an end, and does not authorize those that are superfluous. For example, it is expedient for the relief of the suffering poor that every man should contribute of what he has to spare ; but it is not expedient that he should give the half of all his goods ; because the poor may be sufficiently relieved without such excessive liberality.

Expediency requires, moreover, that, when more than one mode of effecting a good object presents itself, that one should be selected which is the most feasible, the safest, and infringes least upon other interests. It is good, for example, to remove the distresses of the suffering poor. This would be accomplished soonest, and most fully, by introducing, if it were practicable, a community of goods, and abolishing the institution of property. But such a remedy could neither be extensively applied, nor easily and long continued ; it would, moreover, deprive the more worthy portion of the community of all the advantages they might derive from superior skill, industry, and economy, and would rob them of the comforts they might enjoy as the fruit of their virtue and good management, for the sake of preserving the plodding and indolent from the suffering which their folly or their vice might bring upon them. Such a remedy for the evils complained of would therefore both have but very lim-

ited success, and would succeed only in removing one evil by introducing others. It would, on these accounts, not be expedient on the whole, and, as we say, in the long run ; and some other remedy would be preferable, though it should but partially mitigate the sufferings of the poor which it is the desire of the philanthropist to remove.

The ground or reason of action must be just. Obligation is prior to expediency ; we are always bound by the will of God, and can never be disengaged from it. If our ultimate end be happiness, it can never be expedient to deviate from the will of God ; for all deviation from his will is the cause of inevitable misery to rational beings. The principle of expediency can then be applied only within the limits of duty. Within the limits of duty is every thing that is either required by the will of God, or consistent with it : the former is what we are *obliged* to do if we would be happy ; the latter what we are *permitted* to do. Within these limits lie many objects all of which are good, but one may be preferable to another ; and it is in the selection of an object of pursuit from among these that expediency is to be consulted. That object is the best which is best adapted to our ultimate end ; and it is therefore expedient to give it the preference. So with regard to the means of attaining the object of pursuit ; those means are the best which will accomplish the object most fully, most permanently, and with the smallest diminution of other enjoyments that constitute a portion of human happiness ; and expediency therefore dictates the selection of those means.

When it is proposed to us to relinquish any thing which God has given us as a portion of the comforts of life for the sake of a good end, the questions arise, Is the sacrifice necessary for the attainment of the end ? Is the good which it is sought to effect paramount to the evil of the sacrifice, and of the consequences that are involved in it ? Is it the will of God, or consistent with his will, under all the circumstances of the case, that the sacrifice be made for the sake of the contemplated good ? These questions must be answered affirmatively, and in a satisfactory manner, before it can be expedient to make the sacrifice which is demanded.

The object of all temperance associations is to arrest and put down the evil of intemperance in the community. It is admitted by all that intemperance is a beastly vice, a copi-



ous source of private misery in families, and of annoyance and injury to the public good, and therefore an evil of great magnitude. It is however not the only evil that demands our attention ; other vices of very serious import have also an extensive prevalence, and, contribute their full proportion to public and private suffering. The evils of intemperance have therefore indeed a strong claim upon our attention and sympathy, but they are not entitled to become the absorbing topic, as if no others were in existence.

As a suitable remedy for this evil, temperance associations pledge themselves to abstain wholly from the use of ardent spirits *as a drink*, and to discourage the use, manufacture and sale of it, *for that purpose*, in others. The reasons for this pledge are the following :

1. The drunkenness which prevails in this country, arises generally, if not always, from the use of ardent spirits as a drink.

2. Those who become drunkards are all at first moderate drinkers, but increase gradually the quantity they drink, as the constitution becomes habituated to the stimulus, and an additional quantity can both be borne, and becomes necessary to produce the same effect.

3. The use of ardent spirits is never necessary nor beneficial to a person in health. All ardent spirits are mere stimulants ; they never contribute to the nourishment of the body ; and they are stimulants of that kind which always leave a debility in the system, which makes a repetition of the stimulus necessary, and, after frequent use, requires a larger quantity of it.

4. Ardent spirits therefore were never designed by the Creator to be used as a drink, any more than drugs were designed as food ; and all such use of them is consequently an abuse ; it is contrary to the will of God, and morally wrong. Infusions of opium might, indeed, be more injurious, but they would be so only because they are a stronger poison : neither the one nor the other is designed for common use as a drink : and to drink either of them would be an abuse.

5. In abstaining from the use of ardent spirits no sacrifice is made of any thing that can add to the comfort and enjoyment of life ; it is only an abstaining from that which would impair the natural vigor of the constitution, debilitate both body and mind, and diminish the amount of real enjoyment,

and the ultimate effect of which is to debase and to destroy.

6. There is no warrant in the Scripture for the use of ardent spirits as a drink. The strong drink which is there spoken of, as we have already observed, was not distilled spirits, but fermented liquors, including wine.

If it is wrong to use ardent spirits as a drink, it is wrong to sell them or to make them *for that purpose*. With the use, manufacture, and sale of them for other purposes, temperance associations have no concern.

We consider the pledge of total abstinence from ardent spirits as a drink the proper means of arresting the vice of intemperance, as it exists in this country. Its efficacy will depend upon the general adoption of it : if few adopt it, its effect must be limited to a small compass : if the adoption be general, its influence will pervade the whole community.

We urge this pledge, not on the vague ground of general expediency, but on the definite ground of duty. If total abstinence from ardent spirits as a drink be the proper means of putting down the vice of drunkenness, it is every one's duty to practice it just so far as it is his duty to set his face against that brutal and ruinous vice ; and if the use of ardent spirits as a drink be an abuse of it, and contrary to the will of God, it is the duty of all to abstain from such a use of it.

With this pledge some zealous friends of temperance are not satisfied, and they insist that we ought to include in it all fermented liquors, or, as they frequently express it, all intoxicating liquors ; by which they mean wine, cider, beer, ale, and porter. Abstinence from all these is what they call "total abstinence ;" an appellation which they deny to the other pledge, because it does not exclude fermented liquors.

The advocates of total abstinence in this sense, in common parlance often designated as the *tee-total*, put their pledge upon the ground of mere expediency. When they say it is expedient to adopt their pledge, they do not mean it is a duty. Such a claim would bring back the question, Whether it is morally wrong to use wine as a drink ? and this is ground which they find it necessary to abandon. They admit, therefore, that no wrong is done by refusing to adopt their pledge, and, consequently, every man may innocently do in the matter as he pleases. At the same time they urge that their pledge is the only one that can effectually abolish the vice of drunkenness. If this be true, and yet nobody is under any

moral obligation to adopt their pledge, it follows that nobody is under any moral obligation to do what he can toward the suppression of drunkenness. If, however, it be the duty of every man to lend his aid in putting down this vice, it is his duty also to use the proper means for this end; and if this total abstinence be the only effectual means of arresting and putting away the prevailing drunkenness, it is a duty to adopt their pledge; and it is, consequently, a violation of duty to drink wine. There must be something wrong in the principle that leads to such opposite results.\* The fallacy lies in

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\* This strikes us as by no means a correct statement of the positions and reasonings of the consistent advocates of total abstinence. It is true that they urge their pledge on the ground of expediency. They also urge it on the ground of duty, but in this case they regard expediency as "identical with duty," and feel themselves fully sustained in this position by the principles laid down by our author himself, (p. 426.) He says, "If it be shown that a contemplated end is not only consistent with the will of God, but is also required by it, it is then not only right to choose that end as an object of pursuit, but it is at the same time a duty to do so. It is then, also, a duty to use all the means that are requisite for the attainment of the end; it is expedient to use those means; and in this case expediency is identical with duty."

This is regarded by the advocates of total abstinence as precisely the case in question. To arrest the evils of intemperance is admitted by all to be not only consistent with the will of God, but to be also required by it. It is therefore not only right to choose that end as an object of pursuit, but it is a duty to do so. It is also a duty to use all the means which are requisite for the attainment of that end. Thus far the advocates of the *old* and of the *new* pledge are agreed. The point of dispute between them is, whether total abstinence from the use of wine, etc., is requisite for the attainment of the end which both have in view. The advocates of total abstinence believe that it is requisite, and therefore urge their pledge on the grounds of both expediency and duty. It is a case which in their view, according to the principles of our author, lies within the limits of duty, both in respect to the end and the means. The end being admitted to be good, and the pursuit of it being admitted to be a duty, and the means being believed to be requisite, and such as are in themselves innocent, the use of this means is urged as expedient because it is right.

putting wine and other fermented liquors into the same category with ardent spirits.

The advocates of what is now called total abstinence urge the expediency of their pledge upon the following grounds:

1. All the fermented liquors which they wish to have ex-

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To use the language of our author, "In this case expediency is, by virtue of this connexion," (viz. of good means with a good end,) "resolved into right." The pledge of total abstinence, therefore, is urged as expedient, because it is believed to be requisite to the attainment of the end proposed. It is urged as right, and a duty, because it is in itself innocent, or at most involves but a small amount of self-denial in comparison with the good to be attained by it, and cannot be proved to be morally wrong; and because the end proposed is plainly "not only consistent with the will of God, but is also required by it."

It may be doubted whether abstinence from the use of ardent spirits can be urged successfully on any other grounds than those above stated. Alcohol cannot be proved to be a *malum per se*. If it could, it would condemn the use of fermented, as well as of distilled liquors, for it constitutes the principle of intoxication in both. There is no "fallacy," therefore, "in putting wine and other fermented liquors into the same category with ardent spirits," in this respect. It is true that, for obvious reasons, the Scriptures afford us no instruction, either by precept or example, in regard to the use of ardent spirits. But it by no means follows from this that the use of alcohol, in certain combinations of spirits and water, as well as in wine, had it been known in those times, might not have been allowed as an exhilarating beverage. But circumstances are widely different in our day. Intoxicating liquors have been greatly multiplied both in variety and strength, and the evils and the dangers of their common use are vastly increased. Contemplating them as they are now, and not as they once were, the question is whether, for the avoidance of these evils and dangers, it may not be our duty to abstain from the common use of all intoxicating drinks, or of all drinks which may produce intoxication. The advocates of total abstinence claim that it is; and they urge that claim, not "on the ground of mere expediency," but because such abstinence is in itself harmless, and is, at the same time, the necessary, the only effectual means of the attainment of an end which it is their duty to pursue.—EDITOR.



cluded will produce intoxication. Wine is the cause of drunkenness in France ; ale and porter in England ; beer and cider would produce it here, if they were not supplanted by ardent spirits.

2. All our common wines are mixed with large portions of ardent spirits, and then diluted with cider or water to reduce their strength and increase the quantity.

3. If the use of wine, cider, beer, etc. be permitted, those who drink ardent spirits will plead our use of these liquors in justification of their practice, and will refuse to adopt the temperance pledge.

4. The pledge of total abstinence from all intoxicating liquors is a safe one, and the only one that will guard effectually against all intemperance from any cause.

To these arguments we may reply :

1. Fermented liquors, and especially wines, were used as drinks by the ancient people of God, with the divine approbation, and were reckoned among the gifts of God for which thanksgivings were due to him. When temperately used, they are not only harmless to persons in health, but possess nutritious properties. It is not the temperate use of them, but excess that produces intoxication. Excess is abuse ; and abuse of a thing cannot vitiate the proper use of it. If one patient has been killed by too free a use of mercury, that is not a good reason for rejecting mercury altogether from the class of medicines.

2. If all our common wines are mixed with large portions of ardent spirits, they are only ardent spirits in disguise, and are no better than those mixtures which bear the names of grog, toddy, punch, etc. For such wines we make no plea : they are a gross and scandalous imposition on the community, and ought to be wholly discountenanced and banished from use. But all wines are not such counterfeits : and these base imitations constitute no solid reason for rejecting such as are genuine. There is also counterfeit money, and counterfeit virtue ; but nobody thinks it expedient for that reason to reject all money and all virtue.\*

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\* This is doubtless true ; but if we could do as well without money and virtue, as we can without wine, as a drink, and if the use of them could be proved to be attended with as many and as great dangers and evils as that of wine, it may

3. To the third argument we reply, If I make use of good wine as a drink, another person may plead my example for doing the same thing; but he cannot make the same plea for doing a different thing: he may plead my example for drinking good wine; but he cannot plead it for drinking whiskey, or rum. If I drink to excess and become drunk, he may plead my example for becoming drunk also: and it is then of small account on what it is that we are both drunk: both of us are guilty of excess; both have abused the gifts of God; and both have done injury to ourselves and to society by a behaviour that degrades the man below the beast. If another man drinks whiskey, and pleads my example because I drink wine, he wilfully and wickedly perverts my conduct, and is conscious of so doing: and I am under no obligation to abstain in order to deprive him of a pretext which he knows to be false. It would be as reasonable if he would resolve to shave his head, because I shave my beard; or if he would determine to take arsenic, because I have taken calomel. It has been urged that the opposers of temperance allege that they cannot afford to drink wine, and least of all good wine, and must therefore drink whiskey or rum. But why do they drink at all, if they cannot afford what would be innocent and useful? Why do they not content themselves with water which is always sufficient in health as a necessary of life? Or, if they must have something more refreshing than water, why are they not satisfied with cider, or beer, or milk? Why do they claim a right to drink ardent spirits because I drink wine? Is it because they esteem it a privilege, or a right, to drink what may make them drunk? They would become drunk on wine, it seems, if they could afford

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well be questioned whether all *virtuous* men would not be bound by both duty and expediency to dispense with them altogether. As the case stands, however, we do not perceive a sufficient analogy between the practice of virtue and the use of good wine to justify the comparison here made.—ED.

\* Wine therefore is not one of the necessities of life, and those who have long dispensed with the use of it, uniformly testify that they do not reckon it even among the comforts of life. Their health and enjoyment, they say, on the whole, are better without it, than with it, excepting as a medicine.—ED.

to buy it in sufficient quantities ; but as they cannot afford the expense, they must be permitted to become drunk at least upon whiskey and rum. Intoxication then is their object : and if they are not permitted to indulge themselves in it as they please, they will not endure to see me use, in any measure at all, that which could only produce the same effect by some beastly excess. If I could afford to ride in a carriage every day, must I forbear because my neighbour cannot afford it too ? Must he ride, because I ride ? And, if he cannot like me afford a carriage and horses, must he even ride upon a rail rather than not ride at all ? This plea, therefore, that he must drink whiskey or rum, if I do not abstain from wine, cider, or beer, is too miserable a pretext to deserve any farther notice.

4. To the fourth argument, That the pledge of total abstinence from every thing that may intoxicate is a safe one, and the only one that will guard effectually against all intemperance from any cause, we reply :

*First.* We do not question that this pledge is safe for those who adopt and keep it. They at least will never become drunkards : and if this pledge were universally adopted and kept, intemperance would at once be banished from the world.\* So if the institution of property were every where abolished, and all things were made common to all, there would be an end at once to all the litigation that arises from it ; the relations of landlord and tenant, of master and servant, of debtor and creditor, of rich and poor, would cease ; avarice would be without a motive or an object ; misers would be heard of no more ; and the golden age, so beauti-

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\* May as much be said of the pledge of abstinence from the use of distilled spirits only ? Would that pledge, if universally adopted and kept, banish intemperance from the world ? Doubtless there would still remain some lingerings of the evils which we now deplore, and which it is the object of Temperance Societies to destroy. The *tee-total* pledge then, if it were universally adopted, would possess a decided advantage over the other. It would accomplish what the other could but partially effect. This is a consideration which weighs much in favour of the new pledge. It is confessedly the only effectual cure of all the evils and dangers of intemperance.—EDITOR.

fully described by ancient poetry, would return, when men lived in woods, and fed upon acorns and honey-dew.

“Flavaque de viridi stillabant ab ilice mella.”—*Ovid*.  
And the yellow honey dropped from the green oak.

But all the efficacy of this pledge, as well as of the other, will depend upon the general adoption of it: and here the great difficulty lies. There will be no difficulty with those who never drink either distilled or fermented liquors, and who are therefore in no danger of becoming intemperate: all the difficulty will be in procuring the adoption of the pledge by those who need it for their safety; those who use one or both kinds of these liquors as a drink. They might be willing to abstain from ardent spirits on learning that to use them as a drink is contrary to the design and will of God, that in such a way they are never beneficial, and that they can only do harm; and on seeing the terrible effects which they produce in the wide-spread desolation of crime and of wretchedness which proceeds from them as their natural fruit. But it would be impossible to convince them that the use of fermented liquors is equally contrary to the will of God, and equally pernicious and destructive in its effects:\* and if their choice lies between taking the *tee-total* pledge and taking none at all, it is most likely that they will prefer the latter: or if they are persuaded to choose the former, under the influence of feelings excited by the impassioned eloquence of some enthusiastic orator, it is not likely that their convic-

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\* It is not maintained that the use of wine, as a drink, is “*equally* pernicious and destructive” with the use of ardent spirits, but only that it has a tendency, in some degree, to produce the same evils. The destructive consequences of the one may be very great, and yet be much less than those of the other. The removal of these lesser evils may be well worth the additional sacrifice required by the new pledge. And even if it cannot be approved to *every* man’s conscience, in the sight of God, it is entirely effectual, as far as it is adopted. It does not disannul the former pledge, but is only an extension of its efficacy. It ought therefore to be esteemed for the greater security it affords wherever it is adopted, and not to be undervalued, because, on account of the unwillingness of many to adopt it, it fails to accomplish the whole object at which it aims.—EDITOR.



tions will last long, when these feelings shall have given place to others, and they inquire into the grounds of their recent belief. But what is the use of a pledge, however excellently fitted to preserve from intemperance those who adopt it, if it cannot procure for itself a general and permanent reception?

2. We reply *secondly* to the fourth argument, that those who bind themselves to abstain totally from all fermented liquors, as well as from ardent spirits, for the benevolent purpose of preserving others from intemperance, or reforming drunkards, deprive themselves of a portion of the gifts of God which they might innocently enjoy, and for which they should offer their thanksgivings to the Father of mercies. We do not question their right to do so, and to practise any other self-denials to which they may be conscientiously disposed. But when they endeavor to impose the same restrictions upon the community, and to persuade all others to relinquish the same comforts, we think they are trespassing upon the liberty of their brethren, and acting contrary to the will of God, who permits them to enjoy these gifts of his bounty.\* It is too much to deprive the virtuous part of the community

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\* The endeavors of the advocates of total abstinence "to persuade all others" to practise the self-denial which they themselves practise with alacrity, for the sake of an end so great and good as the banishment of intemperance from among men, can hardly be regarded as a trespass upon the liberty of their brethren. They do not, they cannot, *impose* their pledge upon their brethren, but only their arguments; and these should be received by all with kindness and weighed with candor. They are lawful and salutary influences, which it is the duty of brethren and fellow-citizens to use with each other. If in any instances some have gone further than this, and have endeavored to compel a submission to their pledge by the influence of fear, scorn or derision, they will deserve the censure which is implied by the language of our author. But if the supposed "innocent enjoyments of life" here spoken of, are seen to be fraught with evils and dangers to the community, those who shall be persuaded, from a sense of duty, to relinquish them, for the sake of arresting those evils, will not be likely to regard the sacrifices as too great, whatever may be the dishonesty or unreasonableness of many for whose benefit they will have been made. EDITOR.

of a portion of the innocent enjoyments of life for the sake of stopping the mouths of cavilling gainsayers, who seek for a pretext to cover their dishonesty, and will scarcely ever fail to find one somewhere. If one pretext be taken from them, they will find, or pretend to find, another. If, for their sakes, I abstain from wine, they will next demand abstinence from cider and beer, under the pretence that these may intoxicate: and if I attempt to silence their cavils by abstaining from these also, they may even tell me that their drinking is their comfort, perhaps their only pleasure, and that they should not be deprived of it, while I have others which they cannot enjoy.

3. We reply in the *third place*. We have already shown that Jesus himself drank wine; that he drank it every day, and did not, like the Pharisees, abstain on their fast-days; for which reason they spitefully called him a glutton and a wine-bibber: we have shown too that the wine which he drank was not different from that which was in common use among the Jews; or, at least, that there is no proof at all of the contrary: and we have shown that the wine in common use among the Jews was fermented wine, and would, consequently, intoxicate when taken in excess. We now remark in addition, that drunkenness was prevalent in our Saviour's time, as a little examination of the Scriptures and of other ancient records will abundantly show, and the drunkenness which then prevailed was produced by an excess of wine. See 1 Pet. 4: 3, 4, Ephes. 5: 18, Titus 1: 7, 2, 3, 1 Tim. 3: 3, 8, Luke 12: 45, 21: 34, Acts 2: 13. Even women were addicted to drinking too much wine, as appears from Titus 2: 3. "The aged women likewise exhort that they be in behavior as becometh holiness, not false accusers, *not given to much wine.*" Nor were there wanting in that age examples of total abstinence from wine and all other strong drink. Besides John the Baptist, who came "neither eating bread nor drinking wine" (Luke 7: 33), the sect of the Essenes shunned wine, esteeming it a poison that caused madness.\* But Jesus, with all these facts before him, with all his purity, with all his wisdom and forethought, and with all his enlarged benevolence, did not see fit either to enjoin abstinence from wine, or to encourage it by his own example.

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\* Michaelis Mosaisches Recht. § 190, vol. 4, p. 66.

What he did was always done with consideration and design. His life is declared to be without fault, holy, harmless, undefiled ; and his example is repeatedly proposed as a model for our imitation. Why then did not he think proper to set an example of abstinence from that drink which was so much abused by those who loved excess ? Why did he not by his example sanction and recommend the rule observed by John the Baptist and the Essenes, or drop even a single word in its favor ? Two reasons, I think, may be assigned for his course in this matter.

1. The intemperance which prevailed proceeded from an abuse of wine, and not from a rational use of it. Jesus considered wine a gift of God, which contributed to the innocent enjoyment of life, and was unwilling to deprive his people of it because others abused it ; and weighing all the circumstances of the case, he did not deem it expedient that they should be subjected to such a privation in order to prevent or to correct that abuse. But if he did not think it expedient to prescribe or tacitly to recommend such a self-denial for such a purpose, we ought not to do so. It is otherwise with ardent spirits : all use of it as a drink is an abuse ; not a rational use ; and is therefore as bad as an excess of wine.

2. Jesus aimed not at the cure of drunkenness alone, but at the cure of all vice in every form. He did not design to reform the outside only, but to change the heart. His principle was, " Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good." His great remedy was the preaching of the doctrine which he brought from heaven, namely his gospel, accompanied with the influence of the Holy Spirit. This was the power of God to save all that believed. The believer became a penitent, and a new creature, a child of light and of the day, a follower of Jesus, and a holy brother ; if he had walked in excess of wine before, he walked in that excess no longer ; but he walked in the light, as God is in the light, and his fellowship was with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ. 1 John 1 : 3, 7.

Our aim should be that of the Lord Jesus Christ. In the pursuit of it we must imitate his example ; and nothing must be deemed expedient which he has not made so. All men must be permitted to enjoy the gifts of God. Nothing must be interdicted but abuse and excess. There are cases in-

deed wherein father and mother, wife and children, houses and lands, yea life itself must be given up for Christ's sake ; but these cases occur only when father and mother, or whatever else is dear to us, would come between us and Christ, and would separate us from him.

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## ARTICLE IX.

### THE DURATION OF CHRIST'S KINGDOM. AN EXPOSITION OF 1 COR. 15: 24, 28.

By Rev. D. Van Valkenburgh, E. Richfield, N. Y.

WHILE the most essential truths of God's word are so clearly revealed that he who runs may read, and become wise unto salvation, some passages are obscure and liable to perversion. We have the testimony of an inspired apostle that in the Epistles of Paul "are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, unto their own destruction."

The above passage may perhaps be considered as one of the number. The exposition usually given of it by the friends of evangelical truth is far from being satisfactory ; while by the "enemies of the cross of Christ," it has been extensively employed to rob the exalted Redeemer of his rightful honors, and to give currency to the fatal delusion which flatters the slaves of sin with the pleasing dream of universal salvation.

The grand design of the apostle in this chapter is to prove the future resurrection of believers. The doctrine of a general resurrection of both saints and sinners is abundantly taught in the New Testament, and by this very apostle ; yet in this chapter he evidently has reference only to those who "are Christ's at his coming." It appears that some in the Corinthian Church denied this important article of the Christian faith. To present this truth in its proper light, and to



establish it on a permanent foundation, he enters into an extended discussion of the subject. After speaking of the resurrection of Christ as lying at the foundation of the Christian system, and without which all their hopes were vain, and those who had fallen asleep in Christ had perished, he adds: "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection from the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." He here draws a parallel between Adam and Christ. As in Adam, all, of whom he was the head, die, so in Christ all of whom *He* is the Head shall be made alive. "But every man in his own order; Christ the first fruits; afterward they that are Christ's at his coming. Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father; when he shall have put down all rule, and all authority and power. For he must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." The apostle here evidently alludes to the hundred and tenth Psalm, where it is written, "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand till I make thine enemies thy footstool." This passage is a prediction of Christ's exaltation to supreme dominion. At his ascension into heaven he was exalted at the right hand of the Majesty on high, having all power in heaven and on earth committed to him. This universal dominion he must exercise till he hath put all enemies under his feet. From this clear prediction of Christ's final victory over every enemy, the apostle draws a conclusive argument in favor of the resurrection of the righteous dead. Death is an enemy that has long triumphed over the people of God. It is indeed true that the spirits of the redeemed, when they leave the body, are immediately admitted to the joys of heaven; yet their happiness is not fully consummated until reunited to their bodies, when raised incorruptible and immortal. Death, therefore, while he maintains his dominion over the bodies of the redeemed is an enemy. If then the dead rise not, this prediction will fail of accomplishment—death the last enemy would not be vanquished, and one great end of Christ's exaltation to the mediatorial throne would be defeated. Therefore there must be a *resurrection* at least of the *righteous*. That great enemy whose resistless hand has laid in the dust the successive generations of God's people

must be subdued, and those whom he has so long kept imprisoned in the grave must be rescued from his power. This Christ will effectually accomplish, and then cometh the end or final consummation predicted by the prophets, when the triumph of Zion's anointed King over all his enemies will be completed amid the exulting shouts of a countless multitude: "Alleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth."

To arrive at the true interpretation of this passage the main point of inquiry is, What is intended by Christ's delivering up the kingdom to the Father? Having administered the government of God's unbounded empire until he has gained such a splendid victory over every enemy, shall he now lay aside the sceptre of universal dominion, resign his seat at the right hand of the Majesty on high, and leave the Father sole possessor of the throne? So the passage has usually been understood. But this interpretation appears to be at variance with other passages of Scripture which represent Christ's kingdom as being an *everlasting* kingdom. Says Daniel, "I saw in the night visions, and behold one like the Son of man came with the clouds of heaven, and came to the Ancient of days, and they brought him near before him. And there was given him dominion, and glory, and a kingdom, that all people, nations and languages should serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion which shall not pass away, and his kingdom that which shall not be destroyed." Again, the angel who appeared to Mary bringing the joyful tidings that she was to be the mother of the promised Messiah, says, "The Lord God shall give unto him the throne of his father David, and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end." How shall we reconcile these passages with the opinion that Christ will deliver up his mediatorial kingdom when he shall have put all his enemies under his feet? Will it be said he may still reign as King and Head of his Church, and that in *this sense*, his kingdom shall have no end? This answer will not remove the difficulty, for in the passages just quoted his mediatorial kingdom is evidently intended. He is to reign for ever, not merely as Head of his *Church*, but as head over *all things*. He is to reign for ever upon that very throne to which he was exalted when he sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high, which is far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that

is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come.

Again, his exaltation to the throne is spoken of as the *reward* of his humiliation and obedience unto death: "Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God, but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men; and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. *Wherefore* God also hath highly exalted him, and given him a name which is above every name: That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things on earth, and things under the earth: And that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is *Lord* to the glory of God the Father." Here is great humiliation and unparalleled obedience connected with a gracious reward. But is this reward to be limited to the comparatively short period that intervenes between his exaltation and the end of the world? Are not the gifts and calling of God without repentance? Shall he so soon grow weary of honoring his Son? Shall the obedience of his *people* be crowned with *eternal* rewards, and the obedience of his *Son unto death*, even the death of the *cross*, be crowned with only a *temporary* dominion and glory? And shall he *cease to be Lord and King at the very time* that every knee shall *bow to him*, and every tongue confess that he is *Lord*? Shall that kingdom, which he first purchased with his own *blood*, and then secured to himself by putting down all rule and all authority and power opposed to his reign, be *surrendered* at the very *moment* when every tongue shall confess that he is the rightful Sovereign of the universe?

Again, Christ is exalted to the throne as "*Heir of all things*." He is God's "first born, higher than the kings of the earth"—yea "the first born of every creature," or of the whole creation. Now does an estate after it has once come into the possession of the rightful heir ever revert again to the original owner? Christ has received the sceptre of the universe as the *rightful heir*. Shall he ever then be disinherited, or shall he voluntarily surrender that kingdom which has come into his possession by inheritance? Does not *heirship* denote perpetuity? And if the Father has intrusted him with supreme dominion for only a *limited period*, with what propriety can he be called "*Heir of all things*?"

It appears therefore more agreeable to the Scriptures of truth to conclude, that by his delivering up the kingdom to God the Father, is intended his *recovering* the supreme dominion of the entire universe from its usurpers. The latter clause of the verse may be understood as explanatory of the former: "Then cometh the end, when he shall have delivered up the kingdom to God, even the Father, that is, when he shall have put down all rule and all authority and power," and thus shall have *restored to the Godhead* the long contested dominion of the universe. When Christ shall have put all enemies under his feet, and shall reign without a *rival*, then "the kingdom," the supreme dominion, will be restored to the Godhead, or to the *Father*, inasmuch as the Son acts by the Father's appointment. An important portion of God's dominions is in a state of revolt. The standard of rebellion first erected on the very battlements of heaven has since been erected on earth, and for nearly six thousand years its inhabitants, almost with one consent, have rallied around it, scornfully rejecting the claims of their Maker, and obstinately refusing to return to their allegiance, and acknowledge him as their rightful King. Earth and hell are leagued in one grand conspiracy against the throne of the Most High. Christ is exalted to the throne to put down these enemies and opposing powers, and thus *recover* the kingdom from its usurpers. And as the enemies of Christ and of the Father are the same, when he shall have subdued his enemies, rescued the dominion from the hand of its usurpers, and compelled every tongue to confess that **HE** is **LORD**; it will still be true that the Father, by whose appointment he has all along acted, is the Universal Sovereign. The Father, when he exalted the Son at his own right hand, and constituted him *Heir* of all things, did not resign his own supremacy. For when he saith, "all things are put under him," it is manifest that he is excepted which did put "all things under him."

It may perhaps be objected to this interpretation, that the expression "he must reign *till* he hath put all enemies under his feet," implies a limitation of his reign. But from the use of the word *till* or *until*, in the Scriptures, it is evident that its use here can furnish no valid objection to the perpetuity of Christ's reign. Christ says: "Till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle shall in no wise



pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Are we thence to infer that any part of the law shall fail when the heavens and earth do pass away? Paul says, "until the law sin was in the world." But who will doubt the *continuance* of sin since that event? The word *till* then does not necessarily imply any termination to Christ's reign. Neither does the Psalm from which the apostle quotes intimate any such thing. That teaches that all the schemes of his enemies shall be defeated, and that, notwithstanding the utmost opposition to his reign, he shall eventually succeed in putting them all under his feet, and shall thus establish himself in the throne without a rival. It was therefore perfectly proper to say that he must reign till all his enemies are made his footstool, though he was not then to resign his kingdom, but on the contrary was to reign *for ever*.

The principal objection to this interpretation is furnished by the following passage: "And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." But I apprehend that this passage, on a careful examination, will not be found inconsistent with the views here advanced. The word *ὑποτάγη*, rendered "shall be subdued," is not in the future tense but in the second aorist. It is also worthy of remark, that it is but another form of the same verb which in the preceding verse is rendered "put under," while in the 25th verse, which speaks of Christ's putting all enemies under his feet, a different phraseology is employed. Hence I conclude that the apostle here has not in view the event of Christ's subduing all his enemies, but the fact that all things were put under him by the Father. And as to the future in the latter clause of the verse, it may be understood not as a future of time, but merely a logical future denoting an inference. The meaning of the passage may be thus expressed: "And since all things were put under him, it *will follow* that the Son also himself *is* subject to him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all." It does not appear to be the design of the apostle to show that Christ shall *hereafter* be subject to the Father, but that he is *now* subject to him. Admit that the future tense here is only an inferential or logical future, and then the apostle's argument becomes apparent and forcible. In the preceding verse he informs us that all things are put under Christ, *the Father excepted*.

In this verse he advances a step farther, and informs us that not only is the Father not subject to the Son, but that the Son is even subject to the Father. For if the Father has put all things under the Son, it will necessarily follow that the Son also himself is subject to him who put all things under him. But even should it be insisted that the common translation is correct, it does not necessarily imply that Christ shall hereafter be any more subject to the Father than he is now. According to the reasoning of the apostle in the preceding verse the Son is now subject to the Father, and the common translation implies nothing more than that, hereafter, when all things shall be subdued unto him, he will *then* also be subject to the Father, even as he is at present. As the Father was excepted when all things were put under the Son, so also shall he be excepted when all things shall be subdued unto him. It appears then that this passage does not even intimate that there will ever be a termination of Christ's kingdom, or that he will ever deliver up *his* kingdom to the Father. The dominion shall indeed be rescued from his *enemies*, and restored to the *Godhead*, but not in any such sense but that his dominion is an *everlasting* dominion, and that of his kingdom there shall be *no end*.

It may not be improper however to remark that the kingdom of Christ cannot be in *all respects* the same after the general judgment as before. While it is literally true that "his kingdom ruleth over all," his government of this world is peculiar—"God is in Christ reconciling the world to himself." The more immediate object of his exaltation is to carry forward the interests of his church, to secure a seed to serve him, and to fill the earth with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord. This particular branch of his kingly office will of course cease at the end of the world. But this will not affect his official station at the right hand of power. He may still sway the sceptre of supreme dominion, and administer the government of God's universal empire through *eternity*.

This discussion will now be closed with a few inferences suggested by a consideration of the general subject of Christ's mediatorial reign.

1. We may with certainty infer the *Divinity of Christ*. He is represented, in the passage at the head of this article, under the character of a king reigning with supreme autho-

rich and glorious success until all his enemies shall be put under his feet. Look, in the first place, at the *extent* of his reign, and see if that does not prove his *Divinity*. "All things are put under him." All power or authority in heaven and on earth is intrusted to him. He is made Head over all things to the church. He is exalted above all principality and power, might and dominion, and every name that is named, both in this world and that which is to come. In short, the entire government of the universe is committed to his hands. Now this evidently requires all the attributes of Supreme Divinity. For who but God can wield the sceptre of universal dominion? Who but God can superintend the affairs of a kingdom which embraces that vast number of worlds which modern science has discovered scattered through the immensity of space? Who but God can uphold all things by the word of his power, and roll on the mighty wheels of a universal providence, which shall so control and govern these numerous worlds as to secure the great end of their creation? Who but God can give existence to millions and millions of creatures in constant succession, and sustain them with all their powers—can give impulse and direction to all the mighty movements of the natural and moral world—and can say to every sun and system that revolves in silent grandeur about his throne, Hitherto shalt thou come and no farther? Can any being, not possessed of supreme Divinity, be qualified for a work like this? If all this can be done by a *dependent creature*, what evidence have we of the existence of an independent Creator?

Where shall we attempt to discover the operations or trace the footsteps of the self-existent Jehovah, if we cannot recognise them in these displays of power and perfection? If all these works are only displays of created excellence, those frequent appeals which God makes to his works as an evidence of his existence and perfections are utterly without foundation, and we shall look in vain for any displays of uncreated glory. The exaltation of Christ to the mediatorial throne affords such overwhelming evidence of his Divinity as shall eventually constrain all his enemies to acknowledge that he is Lord, and to bow the knee to him as the King Eternal. He is now covered with the highest possible honor and glory. There is intrusted to him a kingdom covering the whole extent of territory ever occupied by the un-



numbered worlds of Jehovah's creation. Now who is prepared to affirm that the affairs of such a kingdom can be administered by any being not possessed of every attribute of Divinity? It must be the height of absurdity, not to say impiety, to suppose that God would commit to a dependent being the affairs of such a kingdom—a kingdom too in whose government his own glory and perfections were designed to shine with unrivalled splendour.

Look in the second place at the *object* of his reign, and see if that does not afford additional evidence of his Divinity. "He must reign till he hath put all enemies under his feet." This is one of the immediate objects of his reign, and its accomplishment evidently requires the possession of divine attributes.

The world has ever arrayed all its power and influence against Christ's spiritual kingdom.

The heathen have raged—the people have imagined vain things—the kings of the earth have set themselves, and the rulers have taken counsel together against the Lord and against his anointed; the prince of darkness too has marshalled his legions, and united the forces of earth and hell in one unceasing warfare against the King of Zion ever since his exaltation to the throne. To maintain and advance the interests of his church, notwithstanding this mighty combination of his foes, and effectually to crush this wide-spread rebellion, he must be clothed with Omnipotence.

Under his reign the cause of truth is to be advanced, and the triumphs of the cross to be multiplied, until this entire world shall be won back to its allegiance, Satan and his adherents chained in the pit, and every foe put under the conqueror's feet. In the progress of this work multitudes will be humbled by the mild sceptre of his grace, won back to his service, and made the ever living monuments of his mercy. Others will be subdued by the iron rod of his power, and made the everlasting monuments of his justice. Death too must be destroyed. The dead must be awakened from the undisturbed slumber of centuries—the unnumbered bodies that have crumbled to their native earth must be raised—the widely scattered dust of a thousand generations must be reorganized and reanimated. Then shall Christ pre-eminently lead captivity captive when he shall have open-



ed the prison of the grave, led its captives forth, and chained death itself to his triumphal car. Surely works like these demand the attributes of Divinity.

Look in the third place, at the *duration* of his kingdom, and see if this threefold cord of evidence can be easily broken. It has been contended that Christ possesses only *delegated powers* conferred for a *limited period*, and then to be surrendered to the Father; and that no valid argument can thence be drawn in favour of his Divinity. Even admitting the premises in this objection to be true, the conclusion does not legitimately follow, for *delegation* does not confer *capacity*. And it would be perfect folly to delegate to Christ such powers as we have been contemplating, if he were not truly Divine, for in that case he could never *exercise* them. We have shown that the *exercise* of these extensive powers demands all the attributes of Divinity. But the premises cannot be admitted. That Christ reigns by the appointment of the Father, and that in this sense he possesses delegated powers, is admitted, but that these are conferred for only a *limited period*, and then to be surrendered, we have shown to be untrue. His kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. He reigns not as the *temporary agent* of the Father, but as his *duly constituted heir*.

When he ascended into heaven and sat down at the right hand of the majesty on high, it was only taking possession of his *rightful inheritance as the Son of God*. Hear the decree published in heaven on that august occasion: "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee"—this day publicly constituted thee my First-born, the Heir of my kingdom. And now is not the conclusion irresistible that Christ is truly Divine? Do not the *boundless extent* of his kingdom, the *vast objects* to be accomplished by his reign, and its *endless duration*, prove him to be possessed of Supreme Divinity?

2. This subject throws light upon another passage of Scripture which has often been perverted by opposers of the evangelical system of truth. "Whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began." The apostle Peter here has evidently in view the same event spoken of in the passage which we have considered, when Christ shall have put down all rule, and all

authority and power, and thus shall have restored all things to order, peace and harmony. The prophets never spake of any further restitution than this.

John the Baptist restored all things which the prophets spake respecting him, before he finished his course: and Christ will have restored all things which the prophets have spoken respecting *him* when he shall have put all enemies under his feet. The enemies of Christ have often triumphed thus far. He has had to maintain his kingdom against a mighty array of opposition. The righteous and the wicked have lived together on the same soil, and often in the same families. The tares and the wheat here grow together. But this state of things shall not always continue. The day of separation—the great harvest of the world—is hastening on. Then all things will be restored to permanent order. That mixed state of things which has existed ever since the first apostacy will be brought to a close. The *friends* of God will no longer be oppressed, nor persecuted, nor afflicted, but will enter upon an inheritance of unfading glory.

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## ARTICLE X.

### COWPER'S POETRY AND LETTERS.

By the Author of the Article on "Modern English Poetry." Vol. I. p. 206.

*The Works of William Cowper; his Life and Letters. By William Hayley, Esq., now first completed by the introduction of Cowper's Private Correspondence. Edited by the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe, A. M., London. 1835.*

It is strange that there should ever be a doubt in a rational mind of the *utility* of Poetry. It is strange, moreover, that in *usage*, Utility and Poetry, should have come to occupy, as words, antagonist places; so that it is common to hear a man who values himself on his correct judgment, vaunt his utter want of susceptibility to poetical influences, as a proof of a sound and solid understanding; while, on the other

hand, every body knows, that many who desire the reputation of poets and geniuses consider nothing so necessary to the establishment of their claims, as an unmitigated contempt, both in precept and in practice, of all the rules of right reason and common sense. The mathematician professes to hold fancy in abhorrence: the bardling, prates his sovereign dislike to the whole army of sines, co-sines, tangents and interminable series. And so the realms of matter and the realms of mind seem likely to be kept in eternal discord, by a commotion unnatural, and a war schismatically waged, between twin parts of the well-balanced system of the all-harmonious God.

It is to be especially regretted that THE CLERGY have too generally allowed themselves to be caught in the snare of this plausible distinction; and to be ranked with *utilitarians*, in opposition to the encouragement of poetry: as if, in reality, there could be any thing in the one necessarily hostile to the other: and as if it were not becoming the ambassadors of God, in every thing to maintain the wisdom of whatever He has made *inseparable* from intellect in full development. Why should they not, therefore, be the grand unionists between the *utile* and the *dulce*; practically combining, in the illustration of their sound philosophy, divine wisdom with divine symmetry; and the grandeur of their doctrine, with the harmony of its Author's nature; and the sublimity of truth with the beauty of holiness?

We define poetry as, *in its element*, the natural expression of sympathy with whatever outgoing of the divine mind has produced things gratifying to soul or sense. This includes, of course, all the emotions of the sympathizing spirit, produced by a violation of these congruities. Poetry then, is, in its nature, *sympathy with the being of God*; and that, whether it delights in objects supersensual, and lives in a spirit-world; or whether it adopts this fair earth as its field of pleasant thriving; and views in all sweet or glorious things of sense an emanation from Deity, and ever sings his wisdom, in the pious aspiration of Akenside:

"Not content,  
With every food of life, to nourish man,  
Thou makest all Nature beauty to his eye,  
Or music to his ear."

Let us take a Bible view of the subject. Does the Lord *really*, in his revelation of himself, exhibit his own wisdom,

as the origin of poetry? Does he, *theoretically*, manifest his approval of it, by a system combining poetical objects with natures adapted to them? *Practically*—before the fall, did he employ it to enamour the soul of man with goodness; and *since*, to reconcile the world unto himself, through the gospel? Is poetry conformable to the *ideal* which Scripture gives us of a perfect state of existence? Is it agreeable to revealed notions of the abodes of the blessed? Man enjoys it, in his weakness; and in his depravity, corrupts it to his soul's hurt:—does it inhere to his sinful nature? Is it part, only, of a fuller being? or is it rather, an unbroken tie, that still draws him back to virtue? Is it a genuine exertion of the Spirit's influences, that purely followed out, would reject all that conforms not to the will of the Lord? Would it be a soiling of a seraph's plumes, should he shake his wings in ecstasy, and speak in rapture over some new world, bursting into birth, under the hand of his Creator? Is HE imperfect, who writes such lines as thrill all intelligence, and awe all being, in the rich hues of nature, in the glorious light of day, in the heavens that declare the glory of God, and the firmament that sheweth his handiwork!

We know of but *one* state of things, that has ever existed, which has received the perfect approval of the Lord our God—one only, which he has pronounced *good*. Space may hold system on system, as perfect as that which the Lord hath blessed. But of all possible worlds *one only* is detailed to us, as *good in all*. That was our own little planet, as Jehovah made it: a residence for man, in which emotions were *forced* on his holy nature, the mere fancy of which, in our day, is the highest poetry. Where our first parents dwelt, they must have fallen, long before the bitter tree was tasted, if *Poetry* be not *good*. Their father hedged them in where they had no necessities. Their first cries were not those of mere utility: they opened their eyes on all things needful for them. Their first emotion must have been that of *the beautiful*. Then was their first accent, *praise*. It was *sympathy* with the mind that had prepared such good things for them. We may call it *gratitude*, then, in their *souls*—but, on their *lips*!—Oh, glorious thought!—the first words ever uttered, by breathing man, *must* have been poetry!

When the world came fair from the hand of its Creator—



the green earth, the beautiful, and the bright : spinning, and sleeping on its axle, and wheeling through the deep heaven, ever lighted in its trackless round, by its little satellite lamp—what was it, but Jehovah's embodiment, of all that glorious ideal, which we call POETRY? It had no blight, no sin, no stain. The lion couched, harmless, in the shady thicket : and the leopard dallied with the fawn. There was *painting* in all around : in the rich-soil, pranked with a thousand flowers ; in the tall trees, with their living greenness ; in the vine that entwined them, lovely and graceful in its spiral beauty ; and in the bright clusters that shone out from its canopy of leaves. There were blossoms perfuming in the shrubbery, and fruits of all golden rind, that glittered in the branches. The graces of all seasons were there, *woven into one*. The blue sky was *above*, unclouded ; and *beneath* was the clear water, ever more beautiful for reflecting the eternal smile of Heaven.

And there was *music* from the fountain and the grove. The brooklets that brawled on their way to the *four rivers*, warbled in their pebbly bed, and flowed with melodious murmurs. The happy birds sung anthems all the day, from choir and and antiphon, which the wildwood made. There were matins for the lark to celebrate : all fowls sung vespers ; and when came on the solemn vigil, there was still an anthem from "one—the livelong night." The very beasts sent forth a song of joy from their coverts, for the lion's roar was not yet for his prey ; and the horse neighed not among trumpets.

And there was *sculpture*, besides. Amid all this scene of beauty, walked forth the lords of the domains, erect and tall ; in such symmetry of limb and joint, as God alone could conceive—compared with which the poet's dream is vague ; and all the perfection that was ever warmed to life from the cold marble, scarce better than deformity. How they went forth in glory—that first imperial pair ! How happy was their lot ! The world their home, and all lovely things their heritage ! In all around them they beheld the present God, and knew that God, their father ! The wood bent down its fruitage to their toilless hands, and they plucked it, as the good gift of their heavenly friend. The fountain sprung up at their feet ; 'twas the ceaseless flow of their Maker's love. When the shadows of evening came down on the landscape,

the stars were in heaven, and the moon. So, ever about them was the eye that never slumbers nor sleeps. In the morning watch, came up the daylight, and the sun; the mists rose like incense from the pleasant valleys, and with it they joined their voices, as they woke with the world around them. High noon came on, and still the shining scorched not: a few short hours, and the shadows were stretched out on the face of the earth; but still it was "a pleasant thing to behold the sun," and they knew it was the eternal light of their Father's countenance.

Now if the theories of many be true, it was no part of the wisdom of God to make such a glorious world, and to impress the spirit of man within, by such a conformation of things without. There are those who deem it very unphilosophical, to spend a minute in admiration of the gauzy wing of the beetle that we tread upon, or of the coat of many colors that robes the butterfly. "Small business this," they say, with a shrug and a sneer. Was it *small business* in the Lord to make it such? They consider it the worst fanaticism to delight in the fields, the forests, and the rivers. Even the mountains, and the skies, and the host of heaven—yea, the very heavens that are telling the glory of God—these, if they kindle in our minds such rapture as the Holy Spirit warmed into song in the breast of David, are enough to make us fools in the eyes of many men, that "have eyes, but see not." But in another way, we *may* examine them. For the sake of elucidating some dogma of the schools, we may consume years in looking at nature, if we will but take the learned names of Zoologists, Entomologists, or Astronomers. *Poets* are mere idlers. But a man shall gape, all his life, at Aldebaran, through sheet-brass and lenses, and is a *philosopher*, forsooth; scientific, and mightily to be praised. To blacken paper with ciphers about eclipses; and with angles and triangles about distances and elevations; to dissect bugs, and impale them, learnedly on pins; or to embalm the precious carcase of an antediluvian tree-toad, or to let loose more odorous gases from a lump of earth, than there were restive winds in the bag of Ulysses. This is *science*—this the triumph of genius—this *the march of mind*! But to tell of Nature's glories in *numbers*; to *live ejaculating*; to immortalize the soul's emotions; to express their tumult, or their calm in varying verse; to mirror the spirit of man to itself; to lead

that spirit up to Nature's God—this is the *foppery of song*—the *dance of words*—the *waste of life*! Such is the practical opinion of many a philosopher of our day, who with the Rail Road Journal in his hand, and spectacles on his nose, rejoices that Science is steaming it along smooth tracks, while Poetry is completely run ashore, and fast going to decay.

Walking the fields with Dogmaticus, we point him to the beauty of the landscape. With equal good manners and fine sentiment, he deigns to reply with a "*humph*," and not very secretly smiling at our littleness, he walks on, congratulating himself that while we are occupied with things so *small*, he is on the point of triumphantly answering that great poser of the schools, "*utrum chimæra, bombinans in vacuo, possit comedere*," etc. And yet shall Dogmaticus be answered, by the merest leaf which we pluck from the hedge-row. Look on its beautiful outline; its notched and scalloped sides; its velvet surface; its gentle tinge. Nay, see it marked with a thousand fibres, arteries, and veins. What a little world it is! It might have served the purposes of life to the plant, without these *beauties*. Why then did its Maker fashion it into such comeliness, if beauty is not to be felt and admired? Yet this is but one of millions; and what will Dogmaticus say, when we pass from the leaf to the flowering blossom? And when the rich fruit is ready for his palate, why should the apple be of such a hue, or the peach of such a tinge, or the pine apple such a picture? Look then, Dogmaticus; shall the *Mighty God* deem such trivial things worthy of his care and invention to make them fair to look upon; and shall *I* negligently enjoy his bounty, without admiring his handiwork; and shalt *thou* presume to call him idler whose life is spent in illustrating to others the perfect harmony of the universe of God, around, above him, and within.

We say *within*, for the universe of the soul is indeed the nobler world of the poet. *There* is the *heaven* of the sweet influences of the Holy Spirit—*there* is the *hell* of man's earthly passions and rebellious will. Surely, Dogmaticus himself will confess that poetry hath *here* a use. But no. In the study of our spiritual nature he himself delights; but not after the poet's fashion. He, forsooth, hath a theory of the understanding, and a doctrine of the will, and a syllabus of the affections; but this holding the mirror up to nature; this

song and response ; this chanting and antiphony ; this calling of the lonely soul to its fellows ; this natural yearning to mother earth ; this heavenly aspiring for a better world. Pshaw ! says our philosopher, "Cui Bono, Cui Bono !"

In answer to Dogmaticus and his school, we deem it final and sufficient to inquire the opinion of the great Author of mind, as he has expressed it in the *written word* of his truth. And turning to the law and testimony, how is it (if he be right) that he cannot open those glorious pages without being reminded at once, that of *half its living lines, poets were themselves the penmen* ! How is it, that leaf after leaf unfolds to us sweet idyl, noble elegy, or burning ode ? Why is this long drama of the *Uzzian* written, enforcing a moral that like the *Iliad's*, might be "folded in a nutshell." Why have we this rhapsody on the horse—this canto on leviathan ? Why this song of Arcturus, and the bands of Orion, and the sweet influence of Pleiades ? Wherefore this ode on the ostrich ? this high lyric on behemoth ? Nay, another leaf ; and for what is the *BOOK OF PSALMS* ! And the *Proverbs* ! And the *Preacher* ! And lo ! *THE SONG OF SONGS* ! The bride of Christ sings spousals ; and the Lord of the Church, our Redeemer and God, can reply. And here are the pæans of Isaiah ; high lyrics, that are worthy of the hallowed lips that were lighted by an angel for the office. And the plaint of Jeremy. The very woes of God's people, are denounced to them in song. And now listen to the rapture of Ezekiel ; and then to the far voices that come up to the prophet's ear, from the unborn ages of the gospel. Scarcely have we time to listen to the prayer of Habbakkuk, for hark ! the virgin "doth magnify the Lord" in poetry. And Zacharias is on fire with song ; and old Simeon raises his faltering voice in the swan-like *Nunc dimittis*. Yea, the very heavens are alive with the rapture ; and the anthem they are chanting, peals in our ears below, "Glory to God in the highest ; and on earth peace ; good will to men."

And the visions of the Apocalypse are full of music, and hymnings, and harps. There is poetry in the presence of God. The ransomed are returning with *songs* and everlasting joy. The elders have *harps* with their vials full of odors. The Godhead is *worshipped* in poetry. Peace, then, Dogmaticus ; heaven, earth, and the Bible, are spoiling thy *theory* ; and the answer of inspiration to thy cynic *cui*



*bono*, is only vouchsafed, like the oracular responses of the haunted groves, in words that must torture thee, for they are *poetry*.

If in Nature, and Holy Writ, then, God himself hath marked poesy with his undoubted sanction, would it not be well for his ambassadors to attach full value to its influence? As long as face answereth to face in water, so long will man have a heart that answereth to heart; and just so long will that heart be the pupil or the plaything of the genuine poet. We then should not despise the wisdom of the serpent, however we may desire to blend with it the harmlessness of the dove. Of this we may be speedily convinced by the sober page of history. All nations have taken character from the character of their poets. Greece were not Greece but for her Homer; nor Rome, Rome without her Horace and Virgil. Italy were no Italy, without her Dante and Tasso—England no England, without Milton and Shakspeare; and we judge that he was wiser than Dogmaticus, therefore, who sagely said, “Let me make the ballads of a people, and you shall make their laws.”

But with other good things, the prince of this world hath been wiser than the children of light, in employing the divine art in the dissemination of that evil of which he is styled the father. Conscious of the value and the power of poetry, he has distorted it from its natural inclination to virtue, and married it to sin. And so long has it been found in *practice* the corrupter of good morals, that we scarcely wonder, after all, that many of the good should rank it with the *theatre*, of which Pollok dryly says, in answer to those who maintain that it *might* be made the handmaid of virtue,

“And so perhaps it might, but never was.”

But, in fact, the case is different in regard to poetry. *There* its earliest specimens *are* the inspirers of virtue. And while we do not marvel at those who condemn the art of Anacreon, Horace, and the author of Don Juan, we must still deem those few far wiser, who have in any manner the shrewdness which Wesley showed in relation to the twin-sister art of *music*. That holy man did not scruple to set many of his most beautiful hymns to the airs of fashionable songs, and pieces which had before been the favorites of the gay dancer,

or roaring bacchanal. These are now extensively used in the churches, under sober names ; and for far more than we suspect of the sweet melodies which now warm the Christian's heart in the services of the sanctuary, on the holy day, we are to thank that good man, who said, "it was indeed a shame, that the devil should have all the good music."

But whatever is due to Wesley's fame in this glorious department of art ; pre-eminently is the honor of the *Reformation of Poetry* attributable to *William Cowper*. We are no undervaluers of Herbert, and Addison, and Steele. They were the streaks that announced the coming morning. But Cowper was the sun in his strength. The mighty Milton had indeed long before him employed the imagination in a Christian flight to heaven ; but Cowper was the first to bring down the angel Muse to *earth* ; to mingle with all earth's woes, its joys, its miseries ; and to touch the heart with the burning words of a gospel religion.

Careful then, should we be, how we allow ourselves to fall into the fashionable cant of literature, and to speak of the *idle life*, and absurd *monomania* of that holy man. Let us rather read his own sweet apology for his retired and noiseless life, and confess, that in his case, it is doubly true, that

" Stillest streams  
Oft water greenest meadows ; and the bird  
That flutters least, is longest on the wing."

Cowper seems well and wisely to have improved the talents and the time committed to his trust. Many a mind diseased like his, would have excused itself from all responsibility to its day and generation ; but Cowper has done for the world what the palest intellect might envy as a life-time's labor. The Lord seems to have shaped this mysterious creature of his hand, for just the noble end he has subserved. Constantly did divine Providence lead him in the way which his own wisdom chose not, but which seems to have been in truth, "the way he should go." So great was his own awe of his holy art, that had he foreseen to what it would lead him, he would probably never have indulged himself in the luxury of a *Sofa*. But a hand more careful of his good, and *ours*, imperceptibly lured him to an enjoyment, which

he only perceived when finished to have been a *Task*. That noble poem grew like the subject which Lady Austen gave him, as it were from a clumsy joint-stool, to a throne. He might have given it the motto, which he afterwards threatened to inscribe on a summer-house, which had been finished more expensively than he designed—

“Beware of building. I intended  
Rough logs and thatch ;—and thus it ended !”

He little dreamed that his loyalty to the fair was to make him the Columbus of a new world of poetry. With reference to the *Art*, Wordsworth has been styled *the regenerator of English poetry*. Let us in a *higher sense* claim that proud title for Cowper. We doubt if Wordsworth would have been Wordsworth, had not Cowper gone before him ; and as for the *Excursion* compared with the *Task*, what more can its proudest admirers claim for their favorite poem, than, at most, the designation, “*pulchrior filia, pulcherrima matre ?*”

When the poor valetudinarian of Olney, began, in his fiftieth year, to draw on his early reading for amusement ; and to prove his remaining facility in the French language, by *doing into English* the songs of Madam Guion, who would have foretold the career of glory that was before him ! Who would have foreseen, in that glimmering through the mists of sickness and derangement, the brightness of “the bridegroom coming out of his chamber !” Who would have imagined, when the day of his life was so far spent, that the sun of his original splendor should break through the vapors that obscured his morning, to gild them by the light of an holy eve, and, at least, to go down in glory !

Such, however, the issue has proved the case to have been. Yet, we may safely say, the influence of Cowper is only *now* beginning to be felt, in any thing like its proper degree. The world is just beginning to discover how deeply she injured him, when, for a season, she seemed inclined to pass him by, as a pious man in a corner, who made pious verses. His fame, though now so spreading, has been of very gradual increase ; but this we might have predicted from his own teaching :

“So slow  
The growth of what is excellent,—so hard  
To reach perfection in this nether world.”

For a long time there were many critics, who, having no heart to be touched, could not feel the power of his genius. From the fact of our poet's late appearance in life, they ingeniously argued that he could be no poet at all. Cowley wrote verses at *ten*. This was certainly enough to overthrow all the pretensions to poetry which could be set up by a new comer of fifty ! Lord Bacon had told us, that "Poetry is a plant that groweth up without seed." Here, they supposed, they could observe the whole train of incidents that set Cowper to writing : and so, with an *argal* worthy of Shakspeare's clown, rather than of sapient scholars, they at once condemned poor Cowper for not partaking sufficiently of the fungus nature, for which they were smelling. Tracing all the walks and by-ways that led him into paths of Poesy they learnedly judged him an intruder there. For a long time they treated him, both in the lordly review and gentlemanly volume, as, at best, a naturalized alien in the realms of rhyme, with neither the ease nor the fluent speech of a native. He is a droll phenomenon they said ; a *lusus naturæ*, rather than a legitimate child of the Mighty Mother ; and so did these critics by trade (who, thanks to the world's good sense, are getting whipped into better manners), agree among themselves to lay Cowper on the same shelf with Blackmore, and say no more about him. For a while, therefore, he seemed not likely to be ranked so much with "poets sage," as with holy men and clergy ; and even men of sense would speak of him as a poor lunatic, taught to count numbers on his finger-ends, publishing without confidence, and attracting notice chiefly by the awkwardness of his endeavors to dress the Muse in coif and boddice, and send her duly to church "at clink of bell," Prayer-book and Bible devoutly in hand, and ornamented, like an old English house-keeper, with a bundle of keys at her waist-band.

But it appears to us a very manifest truth, that not even the bard, who *lisp'd in numbers*, can possess a stronger claim to the credit of original genius, than Cowper himself. There were circumstances which sufficiently account for Cowper's long delay ; but when he *did* write, his verse soon proved itself the offspring of inborn Poetry. Pope's, on the contrary, like his body, was too soon *put in stays*, to be possessed of natural grace, whatever may have been the degree of *ease* acquired by constraint and education. Cow-



per's verse not at all partook of its author's constitutional delicacy ; and growing up like a strong free boy, was at first rather interesting than fascinating ; though it soon came to move with dignity, and to exhibit the fine proportions of vigorous *uncorseted* manhood.

When Cowper was a boy he was more like the personified *spirit of poetry*, than merely *the subject of its inspirations*. Delicate as a body flayed, his soul stood among men shrinking in every fibre from their contact ; trembling in every nerve at the approach of the cruel ; morbidly sensitive, and unfit for "the winds of summer to visit him too roughly," he suffered more from a touch than others would from a blow. The coldness of the world was to him in childhood, like the blasts of winter to the new-born babe ; he had no mother to wrap him from the storm. The nice feelings of the poet ever unfit him for contact with the brutal ; but Cowper's disqualified him from even the stare of the vulgar.

That we have so few juvenile productions from his pen is easily accounted for, since he tells us that his library, manuscripts, and every thing else in the shape of property, perished, he knew not where, when the world perished to him, in the dim eclipse of his manhood. However that may be, he must always have been flush of, at least, *unwritten poesy*. A mind so full of overfeeling must have overflowed ; and nothing is more rash than to conclude a genius like his to have been artificial, because the very intenseness of his natural powers interfered with the method of their exertion.

But in spite of the sneers of the selfish, how dear to the good man's heart is now this poet's name ! He is not the mere bard of our intellects, of our scholar-like appreciation ; he captivates our affections ; he makes us his friends ; he writes himself on our hearts. For half a century he has been steadily growing into this enviable fame ; and now he is almost the only common favorite of all—in whom *man* sees that dignity that bows him in intellectual reverence ; in whom woman beholds that sublime of delicacy that wins her purer heart.

It is gratifying to perceive in this, that with all its propensity to tinsel and mere glitter, there is nevertheless a sound quality in the world which ultimately rejects what is vile, and hoards the true gold like a miser. Every age will have its pigmy wonders—Lares and Penates of a generation—or

colossal idols of the mob's microscopic eyesight; but sure as the silent tread of time, is the test that draws the treasure from piles of rubbish; and as certain, the fall of accumulating neglect, that covers with dust the track of many a popular writer. When Cowper's Task appeared there were doubtless a *magnanimi pauci*, that valued it; but some delightful love-tale was enough to outshine it in the eyes of the people; and it seemed scarcely to have even entered the head of the poet himself, that a few years would range it with Pope and Thomson, in every gentlemanly library, and excite an interest in his name, that should snatch his familiar epistles from oblivion, to match the polished essays of Addison and Steele; and more than all, that should consecrate his unpretending lyrics as part of the devotional formulæ of the Church of God.

One weeps to think how little of the blaze of his near glory was allowed to gild the prison-house of his mysterious lunacy. Yet this very fact renders his writings thrice interesting to us. We pay him for his loss then, by double feeling now! We consider him as a friend, and warm towards him with something of a natural yearning. We look on his picture with tender affection; and we remember him as one from whom we have received *orally*, instruction that was pleasure, and reproof that was still no wound.

The world does that for his sepulchre, which she was not lively enough to accomplish in smoothing his couch, or wreathing his canopy. Brother genius, all over the world, finds kindred in the nature of his lays, and a pious feeling drives them to illustrate their author. He was not the maniacal rhapsodist affecting unearthly description, and apostrophizing the "young earthquake;" his canvass cheers the eye with the sunlighted landscape, the hedge-row, and the quiet cottage. The picture is not a wild daub, forcible only in outline, and tolerable only *at a distance*. There is a *finish* in every part. The very grass is wrought, blade by blade, into the limning. Or you have the cold heath to a marvel of chilliness! The smoke from the gypsy fire is curling before you. You have a perfect picture; and the old witch herself, her black eyes peeping from under her scarlet hood, seems whining her lie in your ear. The painters have snatched many a theme to glorify themselves and the poet, from the works of Cowper. You see the poor lace-maker, on many

a cottage-wall, singing at her work, beneath the jessamines of her door-way, "pillow and bobbins all her little store." Crazy Kate figures largely in booksellers' windows, and the poet himself hangs in full proportion in many a library. Familiar to us all are the portraits of Cowper, from the simple bust of Romney to the full-lengths that exhibit him in his garden, walking thoughtfully in his long gown and tasselled cap, or bending over his tedded plants, "the lilly and the rose," or smoothing the soft ears of his immortalized hares.

And so the name of Cowper has become a part of the world's romance. He lives like Shakspeare, not so much as the embellisher of things, and of men, but as *himself*—a hero. His lately disclosed *affaire du cœur*, with his cousin, Theodora Cowper, has made the lunatic of St. Alban's, a romantic character—and the old bachelor of Olney, a better Abelard. There is a beauty too, in his strange *liaison* with Mrs. Unwin. Lord Byron, mixing his own impurity with all he saw, and judging every fair color by the shade thrown over it, in his own evil eye, has left a sneer on record with respect to this affair, which will be remembered no more after the sweet compliment paid it by a purer imagination, and a warmer heart :

L'Amour n'a rien de si tendre,  
Ni l'Amitié de si doux.

Here it may be proper to speak of the channels through which we become acquainted with the poet's history, and of those exquisite Letters, which, in their collected form, render him his own historian, and charm and delight us, even apart from their interest as a picture of his life. The epistles which he daily despatched to his intimate friends, seemingly with no anticipation of their fate, and with very little forethought in their composition, have been faithfully preserved, and constitute, in the new editions of his works, several volumes, which for their pure English diction, sprightly manner, beautiful thought, and delicate piety, are unrivalled in the language. On the judgment of all readers, they should of themselves secure for their author, a high rank in Literature. Robert Hall, himself, so grand a master of the powers of the English tongue, declared that he had scarcely found a word in them, which he could

altar for the better : and Southey, pre-eminent in our day for his excellence in the pure Anglo-Saxon, yields him the undiluted homage, which greatness is ever ready to bestow, where it sees greatness to fellowship. Of these Letters too, it is no mean glory, that like all things excellent in language, they are appreciable not by the noble and polite alone, but often by the rude nature of the lowly. Whoever, in search of rarer volumes, has frequented our animated book auctions, must have seen with pleasure, many among the humble commonalty bidding high for a copy of Cowper's Correspondence : for there are amongst us, many in the lower walks of life, who from the Cowper of the Hymn Book, have explored the Cowper of the Task ; until an affectionate interest has led them to their author's history. Pleased at finding the poet his own biographer, the Letters have gone home with them from the book-stall, to become the thumb'd book of their little shelf : and many a poor man who knows little enough of Blair and Kaimes, has found them sweet amusement for his quiet evenings, and reads on, allured by the witchery of their manner ; fed by the sound moral of their doctrine ; and upheld in his far venture upon literary ground, by the admirable ease and nature, with which Cowper clothed his philosophy, and simplified his learning.

It is by these letters, that from the time of his exile to Huntington, till near his death, barring the long intervals of his more serious malady, we learn his whole chequered history, with the character of those intellectual phenomena, which resulted in the production of his several works. In them, we also follow him in his reading, and in some measure reap the advantage of it ; the criticisms which they contain of Carracioli, Blair, Prior, and Dr. Johnson, being only the tithe of valuable remark, to be met with in their pages, on authors who were so fortunate as to attract the notice of Cowper. They afford us, moreover, all that spicy humor, which serves up the Spectator, Tattler and Guardian, with so exquisite a relish, to delicate palates : but they never offend, by the coarseness and indecency which even Addison and Steele do not scruple occasionally to throw in our way, and which we encounter, only with the nausea experienced when we meet with a decaying carcass, in the walks of a fragrant garden. We have in them, all the dignity of essays, with all the ease and familiarity of conversations. They af-



ford us an interesting sketch, moreover, of the times in which they were written, drawn with all the artlessness and honesty of private observation. As a biography of himself, they exhibit his bardship in full portrait : occasionally in the gloomy dignity of Hamlet soliloquizing ; oftener in the true English spirit of " Shall I not take mine ease in mine inn ? "—and always, like the Spectator, with the frankness of " these are my companions." With regard to this last merit they are unequalled. So completely to the mental eye of every reader, has he individualized the tender Hesketh, and the brilliant Austen, and the comfortable Mrs. King, and the frolic " Lady Frog ; " with dear Joe Hill, excellent Unwin, bungling John Newton, and " Smoke-inhaling Bull," alias, *Carissimus Taurorum*. They throw open to us his garden ; they lead us through the shrubbery—to the summer-house, the sun-dial, and the antique bust of Homer. In reading them, we *live* with the poet ; we feel his cares and sorrows ; we abundantly share in his joys. " If diction be the garb of thought," says Campbell, " Milton must be arrayed in robes of sovereignty." But Cowper, in these letters, hath put off his lordly raiment, and drawn over his easy shoulders, the comfortable *robe d'étude*. We lounge with him in his study, and enjoy the *sans souci*. But if he rises, for a turn in the fields, or over the lawn, we admire the graceful folds of his flowing gown, and the natural dignity with which he moves, as we follow where he wills.

For the first collection of these precious epistles, we are indebted to Hayley, a brother bard, and the next friend of the poet. Hayley performed the pious duty of editing the Remains of his departed friend, in a manner very creditable to himself ; and with a tenderness for the fame of the departed, in which a generous caution, carried out to an over-weening timidity, seems to have been the chief mistake. He fully felt the claims of Cowper, to a lofty rank among England's mighty dead ; but he feared that an unculled compilation of his letters, might result in confirming the manifest disposition of the popular mind, to rate him with pious moralists and rhymers ; and with that unenviable class of literary men, who, high in rank with their own associates, are overlooked by those who only bestow enduring honor, and who never have the good fortune *laudari a laudatis*. That Cowper should be levelled with Sir Richard Blackmore, or

mixed with Elkanah Settle, was indeed, a consummation most devoutly to be dreaded : and lest a too faithful delineation of Cowper the devout Christian, should sink Cowper the noble poet into shade, the cautious biographer determined to glean from the letters, chiefly, those parts which would be interesting to the world at large.

The fault had a natural foundation, and was surely an amiable one. But Time—sure arbiter!—hath abundantly shown us, that the intrinsic merit of what Cowper hath left us, is such, as renders all elaborate care-taking entirely unnecessary. Mere criticism, with her fiery ordeal, hath left these papers unscorched ; and worthier judgment hath stamped them *digna cedro*. We regret, therefore, that the biographer did not so fully discover their embalming qualities, as to *dare any thing*, in illustrating their author from his own pen. At this late day, many things have been added, which, had they adorned and completed the original compilation, would have saved much of that astonishment, not to say disappointment and chagrin, with which many admirers of the departed poet read Hayley's biography. In their tears of fond remembrance, they indeed smiled to discover their poet equally mighty in prose. They read his sportive epistles with delight ; but not so joyfully did they range them in their libraries with Addison, and Steele, and Swift ; when they had hoped, with their aid, to finish the series of such holy men, as Jeremy Taylor, and Kempis, and Kenne, and Herbert. But they did not look, as we do, on both sides the veil. And while mere men of letters were hailing a new-found treasure, the *old* friends of Cowper stood abashed at this unlooked-for development of the *private* character of our author, who in *public* had never been able to repress the outbreak of continual enthusiastic devotion. The light pages of the correspondence, while they showed the pure-minded scholar, in the novel view of an easy, companionable wit, always pleasantly mirthful, seldom inclined to gloom, and never sad ; and while they threw a charm around his character as a man, still strangely scandalized those sedate and sober judges, who saw no consistency in a character that, ever pushing religion into prominence before the world, and that *in poetry*, by no means exhibited a corresponding interest in it, in intercourse with those friends, who were *half his soul*, in all the sober-

ness of *prose*. They found not the Cowper of the Task, in the Letters, and the general effect of "Hayley's Collection," seemed to be rather the introduction to their notice of a new character, than the perfecting of their acquaintance with an already revered and beloved friend.

But the ultimate consequences of these facts have probably been beneficial. Grieved at the deficiency of Hayley's biography, the Rev. Dr. Johnson, a near kinsman of the poet, and one highly distinguished in the Letters, undertook to supply it. He gathered together a large number of original letters which had been omitted, and that admirably redeemed his kinsman's character from any charge of inconsistency, while they furnished a new and conclusive proof that true religion may be fervent in *prose* as well as song, without either gloominess, fanaticism, or cant. Of late, Mr. Grimshawe has taken advantage of the expired copy-right, to amalgamate the twain; and Southey, has still further enriched the poet's memory, by additional gleanings from his papers.

Joined with such talents as would have made demigods, in their own conceit, of some men, a high pitch of dependent feeling in Cowper, proves him to have been of that original order of mind, that can come to a just valuation of itself, without either intoxication on the one hand, or beggarly self-contempt on the other. The *little* great-man, must himself be all in all. His soul embraces in its vision only a circumference that it can fill. The nobler spirit hath a gaze on the vast—that appals him. He shrinks into a nothingness that is greater than the other's universe. He yearns to that Father who alone can fill the infinite abyss that surrounds him—a chasm, which otherwise swallows up the wonderful outgoings of his thought, and painfully reduces him to an atom in immensity. But joined to God, he goeth forth into all space, as a tender son that is led by a father's hand. Oh, where is the degradation of being son to such a father—of depending on such a hand, in a humility that is sublime in proportion as it is abject! It is such a degradation, as infinite littleness, only, can imagine; the utter opposite of which, must be that exaltation, which a seraph knows burning and adoring—all absorbed in God who gave him being, and ever-feeling himself to be, like the light in which he lives, only the bright effluence of Divinity.



Such a feeling is no small part of that religion, which inspired the tongue and pen of Cowper ; and of whose beautiful glory he caught occasional glimpses, when, like the apostles, he was suffered, for a time, to be on the Mount of Transfiguration. Unhappily for him, his speculations in theological philosophy did much to film his eyesight, and shut out that steadfast looking up to heaven, without which the fainting Christian martyr can ill endure the merciless pelting of the world. Cowper's glances at empyreal blessedness seem only to have convinced him that he was, like Tantalus, the victim of his own struggle for happiness. However, his skepticism was on the safer side, and he is long since anchored, where all doubting is at end.

His first volume contained the eight Satires which commonly figure first in editions of his works. We call them *satires*, because they rather belong to that class of writing than to the elegy or epistle. And, really, except on the supposition that the readers of that day had been satiated with the satire of Donne, Pope, Swift and the rest, we can scarcely account for the little popularity which this volume enjoyed. The preface, however, which had been furnished by Newton, was thought *too pious*, as Cowper tells Mr. Unwin, though he elsewhere assures its author, that it was entirely free from any thing which might with propriety expose it to the charge of *Methodism*, though it was of the character, which it was the world's nature to be angry at.

A copy of his poems was sent by Cowper to his early friend and schoolmate, then Lord Chancellor Thurlow, with a letter apologizing for the compliment he had presumed to pay him, in a short poem, appended to the volume. Perhaps no incident in this part of his life was so important to Cowper, as the pain which he suffered at the neglect of one whom he had been so ready to love and admire. The wound inflicted on his spirit, by his lordship's surly taciturnity, seems to have been poignant in the extreme. Lord Byron's slight from Carlisle was nothing to it. Yet Cowper's sole exhibition of resentment at the injury appears in that beautiful Epistle to Joe Hill :—

“ Some few that I have known in days of old  
Would run most dreadful risk of catching cold ;” etc.

Colman also, and several of his early associates, took no



notice of his present : and the generous bard, like many a noble soul before him, had to bleed and suffer from the insolent neglect of his pampered or conceited inferiors. Paltry enough is the spirit of that man, who has not in him sufficient gentle blood, to teach him the decent etiquette in the acknowledgment of a compliment. But Thurlow's littleness is peculiar, when he saw the whole-souled poet, remembering with delight their former friendship, and rejoicing in his prosperity, and even expressing that joy in his verse. How often is it the case, that the glowing emotions of a noble breast are encountered by the icy repulses of the mean man, or soured by the crabbed address of the proud, or stung into an agony of chagrin, by

“ The insolence of office, and the spurns  
That patient merit of the unworthy takes.”

Perhaps our national feeling may rejoice, in contrast, in the recollection that the rudeness of the British functionary was somewhat compensated to Cowper by the compliment which was paid him, with a full soul, by Dr. Franklin, then our minister to France, and resident at Passy. Of Dr. Franklin's letter, the amiable poet speaks more than once, evidently with no little comfort ; and this, with another spontaneous tribute from Dr. Cogswell of Hartford, shows that American taste was, even then, delicate and correct, and was no mean earnest, to the poet, of the great harvest of fame, which his works have since reaped for him, on this side the Atlantic.

Of these Satires, we cannot speak minutely ; the object of the present review being rather the notice of newly developed facts relative to Cowper, than the criticism of his works. In “ Table Talk,” we may mention, however, the anecdote of *Guevedo*, as told with an admirable *naïveté*, in the true style of Horace and Pope ; though we rather suspect it also possesses the original merit of being coined for the occasion, not recollecting any such incident in Guevedo's report of what he saw in hell. That splendid passage on the great epic masters of the world, beginning

“ Ages elapsed ere Homer's lamp appeared,”

is sufficiently famous ; and taken as an epigram, ranks scarcely second to Dryden's in *point*, and is certainly supe-

rior to it in expression. "Table Talk" itself was well adapted to usher in the poetical career of Cowper, for in it, he canvasses the whole train of his poetical antecessors from Milton to Churchill; and in his portraiture of a Christian bard, admirably prepares us for himself.

THE PROGRESS OF ERROR is sweetly versified, sprightly, and just what such writing should be, easy without looseness, and dignified without stiffness. The cut at the clergy has perhaps done much, with the parallel passage in the Task, to bring about that happy reform, on which the Church of England, at the present day, congratulates herself.

TRUTH is a favorite—paradoxical as the fact may appear—with the generality of Cowper's readers. His delineation of Voltaire was well suited to the times; in which he occupied much the same position as Byron does among the butterflies of our own day. Cowper elsewhere speaks of him as the man

"That, for the curse of thousands born,  
*Built God a church,* and laughed his word to scorn."

An allusion which Campbell, in his edition of the Poets, confesses he does not understand. Byron had been on the shores of the haunted Lake Lemán, and knew the story. "Tell Campbell," he says, "that the *Calvinist* means Voltaire, and the church at Ferney, inscribed 'Deo erexit Voltaire;'"—it's a christian thing in me to tell him this, for I might have crammed it into a review and rowed him." This is at least *the substance* of what Byron wrote, in his characteristic style; and the mention of his name seemed naturally enough to suggest the recital of it, as, in all probability, most of our readers are as much in need of the annotation as Thomas Campbell was.

The description of an old prude going to prayers, is Hogarthian. We see it to the life; it is Swift, all over, in the heroic verse! We do not mean to impeach its originality, but mention it to show how many kinds of talent Cowper united in himself.

But CONVERSATION is the perfection of the volume, viewed as a collection of satires. Its *art* is perfect; its incident continually shifting; and its character—a mirror to nature. Believers in inherited genius will discover in it the descendant of Dr. Donne; all will acknowledge the classical scholar

and original wit in its author. The head that dictated "Conversation" must have been full of observation—and of Horace's,

*Ibam forte viâ sacrâ sicut meus est mos.*

The faults of the volume—and to shallow critics these are its characteristics, are such as in no way derogate from the reputation of their author, as another example of the *poeta nascitur*. Lunacy and ill health had for years hidden his real genius, even from himself, perhaps, and unlike others, his early days were on this account, not passed in improving himself in the mere niceties of his art. Hence if these rhymes be compared with Pope's, we shall feel at once that the latter is incomparably the more delicate artist; while we should be slow to admit that Cowper possessed not more of the original *afflatus*. Pope could do nothing in *blank-verse*; but *blank-verse* was never made more harmonious than in Cowper's Task. In rhyme Cowper often slights the mere *sound*, not ignorantly, but on the principle, seemingly, that satire is essentially the inspiration of the *Musa pedestris*, and requires therefore the ease of slipshod song. Hence, if Cowper seldom floats us along so smoothly as Pope does, he also never permits us to doze on the passage. Pope is an unruffled stream that winds through meadows, in the clear sunshine, stilly, and only discovered where the bright green marks its serpentine course, or where a broader portion reflects the sunbeam; while Cowper is a broad rivulet in the forest, brawling over rocks, and rippling beneath shadows, obstructed indeed in its course, but more musical for its impediments.

No doubt, a great part of the comparative neglect which marked the appearance of Cowper, is attributable to the fact that the public ear had learned from Pope to be fastidiously fond of the most smooth and elaborate verse; and the mob of critics had grown, under his tutorship, to be like the Frenchman who shudders at the tangles of an American wildwood, from having always admired the squared and clipped monsters of Versailles, as the very perfection of vegetable beauty. Even at the present day, when Coleridge and Southey, and Wordsworth are bending in homage to the great master, there are not wanting names high in literature, to sneer at him still, as little better than the author of

a mass of old womanish doggerel. It is amazing how men are carried off by great names ; and how, because Lord Byron has thought proper to ridicule him, a thousand little ones start up with a declaration that such *was their opinion always*. As for the gall and bitterness of Byron's sneers, and of the critiques he has stereotyped against Cowper in his prose articles, they will probably have their day. But in the end, they will be remembered only as we remember the buffoonery of Aristophanes, when we praise the wisdom of Socrates. We shall more fully expose the absurdities of Byron's criticisms on another page : but before leaving the subject of Cowper's rhyme, we shall make no apology for speaking of one signal instance of his triumph over Pope on his own ground. Pope left a highly finished elegy—that to the memory of an unfortunate lady. Let any one compare with this, Cowper's elegy on his mother's picture—that finest elegy in the language—and if he hath a heart, we will trust our author's fame with the answer. We grant that Pope's hath scarcely a line that is not perfect in its flow, while Cowper's is occasionally careless. But the one is a work done by rule ; the other is the outbreak of the heart. Pope is the finished rhetorician ; Cowper the passionate man of feeling. Pope is the nice observer ; Cowper the deep soul of sympathy. The one has learned the nature of affliction ; the other writhes under its effects. Pope's hath the funeral dress ; but Cowper's is the broken heart. As poetry, the former is like the rant of Racine, to the Shakspearean English of the latter ! “ I am distressed for thee, my brother,” is not more natural in David, than all this exquisite gush of filial feeling, in Cowper. And when he speaks of his own desperate despair—his loneliness on earth—his faint hope of heaven—feeling almost amounts to agony, and we are inspired with an awe of his holy anguish. We feel that we must look at it no longer ; and turn away, as we conceal our observation, when an unwitting word has drawn forth the tears of a widow or an orphan. The picture too of his infant desolateness—who could ever read unmoved : or who thrills not at its opening words—

“ My mother, when I learned that thou wast dead,”—

a line that is eloquent beyond art, in all the holiness of Na-



ture's mysterious power. But to Pope, much as we admire him, we are always saying,

Si vis me flere, dolendum est  
Primum ipsi tibi.

There is but one passage in his elegy, where he actually lays his finger on the nerve of humanity, and in that instance it is selfish feeling after all.

“ Poets themselves must die, like those they sung,  
Deaf the praised ear, and mute the tuneful tongue,  
E'en he whose soul now melts in mournful lays,  
Shall shortly want the generous tear he pays.”

But the rest is *action*, not *feeling*. Glorious action we confess, and Pope's greatness we all allow ; but after all, we cannot but be reminded of Göthe's remark in *Faust*, “ Oh, if you don't feel it, you won't obtain it by chasing after it—if it gushes not up in the spirit ; if it lead not the hearts of all hearers at will with unartificial delight. Sit over it forever ; glue together the parts ; spice up a ragout ; you will never touch the hearts of others, if it goes not out fresh from your own.”

We must pass on to speak of Cowper's after labors, and of his great work *THE TASK*, regretting only that our plan compels us rather to *notice* than *review*.

Who would have prophesied that the melancholy Cowper should be eminently, the bard of the “ merry homes of England.” Nature delights in paradoxes ; the crushed rose emits the most fragrant odors ; the mourner laughs in the extremity of his anguish ; the bedlamite sings banquet songs ; the doomed prisoner dreams away the last hour of his breathing ; and Cowper—the confirmed old bachelor ; the man of blighted affections and diseased life ; the very soul of sorrow ; he it is that starts our unsuppressible ha, ha,—in John Gilpin, and paints all the joys of the English fire-side, in the merry light of old comfort and religion.

What a life we live, in reading that misnomered *Task* ! What an evening we pass in Cowper's parlour ! Happy faces are shining in the blaze of the *ingle-side* around us ; and the broidery is growing under the visible fingers of fair ladies. Amid us sits the bard himself, all alive to the

charms of woman's blest society, and of happy seclusion in our own little world. Winter is without, but the heart's eternal summer within :—

“ And the blast  
That sweeps the bolted shutter,”—

hark ! it is alive with the twanging horn of the scampering post-boy, bringing all London at his back, and our evening's joy shall be,—

“ To see the stir  
Of the great Babel and not feel the crowd.”

Blessed be Lady Austen,—the only Task-master we ever loved ; and blessed be Cowper, who certainly did more than “ make bricks without straw,” when he built this wonderful poem on a Sofa. A big arm-chair the subject ; and a broken-hearted invalid the artist—what are we to expect ! Is it possible that we, who may lounge on couches, and have got a step beyond his ultimatum in ottomans and divans, is it possible that we have found nothing yet which can make us quit the Sofa ? Is it possible that rocking in our stuffed easy chairs, we read by the home-like light of the astral the musings of that sick man as the happiest way to make an evening go by, with profit and with cheer. Yes ! stir the fire ! If we would relish the storm without, and snatch a comfort from the big flakes that are fleecing over the deadened colors of the Autumn,—

“ Let fall the curtains ; wheel the sofa round,  
And while the bubbling and loud hissing urn  
Throws up a steamy column ; and the cups  
That cheer, but not inebriate, wait on each,  
So let us welcome peaceful evening in !”

And, TASK in hand, let us read away the hours, with a tear and a blessing for the memory of its author.

And now, by turns, we are gay ; or our joy is mellowed to a sober thought ; or we are raised to dignified reflection ; or warmed to a holy fervor ; or touched with the live coals of a sublime religion. Yet this is the work of a man far past the *mezzo cammin* ; a man of sorrowful spirit whom the world calls *maniac* ; and whom, his best admirers have scarcely honored as more than a pious rhymers for the times. He is a fanatic, if we may believe some : a crack-brained enthusiast, at best, if we credit others. He is far

from the world, unnoticed and unknown ; and alike, Colman in the *garret*, and Thurlow on the *Woolsack*, deem his tender remembrance not worth a thank ye. Forget now, reader, what you know of his volume ; and remember not that he hath had one abiding friend, one better comforter—a consoling Faith ; and tell us what he hath written for us, in this same TASK. Hath he not forestalled Lord Byron, in “heaping on mankind the mountain of his curse.” Or, shall we not open a Swiftian page of gall, and bitterness, and spleen. Or, at best, is it not a mawkish whining out of the unimportant fact, “I have not loved the world, nor the world me.” Or, more, is there not “a laughing devil in his leer”—an Heraclitus, double-demonized, and grinning in strange joy, over the miseries of men ! Hath he not chosen a metre and a manner, designed to tell mankind how contemptible is their opinion. Shall we not have, in short, an ancestor to Don Juan—or to the farcically horrible Giaour, “where less is meant than meets the ear ?” Or is it, perhaps, a pompously absurd Childe Harold (we speak of the *character*, not the *poem*,) that is to stalk before us ! Nay, reader, hear us out ! This “maniacal Calvinist, and coddled poet”—as Byron calls him, lifting his hoof against the slumbering lion ;—this *writer*—“for Cowper is no poet,” says the same profound authority—this “despondent, and most bigoted sectary that ever anticipated damnation to himself, or others.”—Byron owns this is *harsh*, but *says* it.—This misanthrope,—as we have seen him called—hath poured forth his soul in perpetual benediction, like that divine Master whom he followed ; and in whose spirit, he loved the world. Yes, he hath bestowed on it, a poem, which neither Heaven, nor the world will willingly let die. Gentleness, tenderness, piety, love, all fruits of the Spirit—peace with mankind, and tears for their vices and follies ; an overwhelming sympathy for wretchedness, and a flaming heart in every line. These are the characteristics of that truly divine poem, “The Task” of the maniacal Cowper.

Lord Byron has been so often discussed, that we should apologize perhaps for again introducing him here. But *his* attack on Cowper's holy memory, is sufficient in the eyes of many to tear the evergreen laurel from our poet's brow. There are foplings enough, in Literature, to dilate on his lordship's greatness ; and weak heads enough to take his

sneers for judgment. We, therefore, shall not take the pains to assert our high appreciation of his lordship's *genius*; nor after the manner of some preachers, spoil all the moral by calling him "that *splendid Atheist*"—"that *brilliant Infidel*." In our minds, those epithets are no qualifiers of such despicable names: as well might we speak of "that *accomplished pirate*," or "that *illustrious highwayman*." There is no need of our defending, with great pains, our narrow comprehension, that begins to see no real *greatness*, where the glory of goodness outshines not the taper-light of intellect. Thanks to his lordship however, for thrusting himself in the way; he shall serve to illustrate the difference between "the Christian's sorrow and the world's joy;" between "the broken and the contrite heart," and the debauched and blackened soul.

Who would think of a parallel between Byron and Cowper! Not we: for we propose rather a contrast. But in faith if they are *antipodes*, it is not their history that makes the difference.

At school and in boyhood, the characters of both were modelled; Byron's, by the bitter taunts of his playmates, on his lame foot, and lamer vanity, that could not forget it, and, as in the case of Scott, let it be forgotten: and Cowper's, as his *Tirocinium* proves, by equal brutality towards his orphanage, and his naturally delicate habits. Both thus early learned the inhumanity of man to man; and both lived to immortalize their sufferings in their songs. Byron did so, hating back in full payment: Cowper like his own *Leuconomus*, "loved the world that hated him," and sick of its spirit, added nothing more to its overflowing cup of gall! The companions of the two in youth, were not unlike in habits, or temperament; and Loyd, Churchill, and Colman, were surely not the abettors of the great difference between Cowper, and the friend of Matthews, and Hobhouse, and Moore. Both were disappointed in their early affections; and both bore through life the unhealed scar of their soul's first love. Both fled from man: Cowper, a lunatic, and—all but—a suicide; Byron, a debauchee and a misanthrope.

Hence, trace their careers, as poets. Byron, though blessed with unshattered intellect, applies not unto the true Comforter, but like king Asa, to his own evil inventions. He shifts his body through all varieties of foreign scenes,



seeking rest, but finding none ; and returns, like the man in the parable, bringing with him seven other spirits worse than the first, that indeed, seemed to have *entered in, to dwell there.*

Cowper, in his soul's malady, turns to that good Physician, who bindeth up the wound ; and healeth all those that are sick at heart. He retires from the dissipations of the capital ; and "far from the world, Oh Lord, I flee," is the victor-song of his recovering spirit.

Now, but for religion, would not Cowper have as good an excuse as Lord B. for turning poet in the "Satanic school?" We use this expressive term of Southey's, because it hath a descriptive power, that Southey said "would stick;" and *stick* it shall. Would not he be very excusable for turning to personal satire, and venomous invective? What else should he do? He hath not the means of amusement which shine in Lord Byron's purse ; and he yet trembles from that ordeal before the House of Lords, where he was to sue for an humble, though honorable station : but where Byron only quivered among his coronatted peers, from wounded vanity, and the pricked blood of an hundred ancestors. But Byron hath recourse to the land of the Muse : he revels in the luxurious East ; and basks in sunny Italy ; while Cowper buries himself in a dismal village, where there is little to break the dull monotony of English life, but the church-bells of a Sunday morning.

And now when Byron, like his favorite Cain, becomes a vagabond on the face of the earth, and leaves a palace and a wife behind him in sullen discontent, having no certain dwelling-place or rest ; Cowper, lonely and retiring to a cottage, in the care of a tender but unromantic nurse, indulges pensiveness without spleen, sorrow without hate, and poetry untinged by misanthropy, still singing in the quiet of his rude little summer-house,—

Had I the choice of sublunary good,  
What could I wish that I possess not here.

The offspring of each mind is a discursive poem ; for with all their dissimilarities, Childe Harold and the Task are alike in this respect, that they both are built upon perpetually shifting incidents, and embrace an unending variety of thoughts and reflections, though in the one there is a more definite chain that

links them all together, than can be found in the other. Passages will be found in both that might occur in either. Both are the children of diseased parents, and both inherit the features of their sires. In both, the opinions expressed, appear the natural consequences of their author's training. We attribute both to necessity, as the inevitable productions of circumstances which we have shown to be similar ; yet they stand in utter contrast, from causes which we need no further develope, when the reader must already perceive, that we have drawn this parallel, for the sake of illustrating the difference between the dark and demoniacal gloom of the abandoned atheist, and the penitent grief of the regenerate sinner, who, though a bruised and almost broken reed, is still the world-compassionating Christian.

Of course we shall not enter upon a criticism of the *Task* in the present review. It were useless to begin where there is no room, even to make a beginning. Happily, it is a familiar book with most who will see this article ; and to point out our favorite passages, would be to fill our pages with extracts, without imparting anything unknown before. But of the work viewed as a whole, it may be well to remark that it occupies a middle ground between Thomson's *Seasons* and Young's *Night Thoughts*, not being to so great an extent *descriptive* as the former, nor so abstract and metaphysical as the latter. The love of nature displayed in it, falls not a whit behind the enthusiasm of "*The Druid*," while in pure religion, it is even with Dr. Young, without his turgidness, and stiff versification. Combining the great qualities of both, Cowper is superior to either. As a mere *philosopher*, Young might eclipse him ; as a *poet*, he must give room. Thomson is a greater *observer* ; but Cowper is better in *contemplation*. Thomson exults in the dews of the morning, and Young muses in the profound of night. But Cowper meditates at eventide, when the shadows lie over the landscape ; when the day-light is dying, and earth's beauty rather overwhelms than enraptures ;—when heaven exhibits itself to the eye, not with the sure promise of the dawn, nor with the glory of the noon-day, but with the wavering between light and shade of the sober dusk, or the coming on of evening.

As for the mere *art* of the *Task*, it is enough to say that it every where exhibits the successful disciple of Milton,

with somewhat of the original delicacy in versification, which characterizes the wonderful Shakspeare. The verse of Cowper is far different from that of Young—quite as different from Addison's—less different from Thomson's—but, still, *his own*! Wordsworth's is very different again from all these,—and that, although his style of thought and expression so often resembles Cowper:—a fine proof of the eternal changes that may be rung on that dear old chime, the English Language.

How any one can read the Task, without learning to think highly of its author's ear for rhythm, and for the adaptation of sound to sense, we are at loss to conceive. Yet the world has high authority, it must be confessed, for believing that Cowper was no poet. We have often noticed that *one stereotyped sentence*, however false it may be, will do more to injure a man, than a whole volume of argument. "Byron says he's no poet at all"—can be uttered with much smartness, by a pert sophomore in a drawing-room, and the word shall pass for an oracle, with all who hear it, sufficient to keep them from ever examining for themselves. Ever after, they will be ready to apologize for their ignorance of Cowper, by manifesting their acquaintance with a more popular author's opinions.

It is to be regretted that so much of Cowper's life should at this period have been given to a work of necessarily such secondary merit as translation: for although we are by no means undervaluers of this part of literature, we would rather see it employing the genius of some one less capable than Cowper, of original creation. It is a true saying, we confess, that a poet is alone competent to translate a poet. A poet only can so *feel* the whole import of a word in one language as to turn it into its perfect equivalent in another. Hence the failures of Hoole, and Hoyle, and Boyd; and hence the success of Swift, and Coleridge, and Carey. Carey, in his translation of Dante, has produced, perhaps, the finest transfer of a great poet into a foreign tongue, that the world possesses. Apart from the lost effect of pure Italian, and the *terza rima*, we have Dante himself. But Byron, in his translation of Pulci's *Morgante Maggiore*, produced a real "Curiosity of Literature." He renders almost word for word, retaining the same metre, and the same manner. Swift's *imitations* of Horace, are the best *translations* of the kind in

the English language. But what shall we say of Pope's *Homer*? It must be remembered that the existence of this translation was, at the same time, the reason of Cowper's effort, and the reason of its comparative failure. The public were not Grecians,—Cowper was. The “party of the first part,” judged Mr. Pope's work to be the cleverest English poem: Cowper knew his own to be more like Homer's Greek. Pope was a great rhymers—a fine poet, but not just the thing to be measured with the sire of song. Johnson said well, that Dryden should have translated Homer, and Pope Virgil. But Cowper felt the full dignity of the *Iliad*, and his spirit was absorbed in the illustration of his author, not of himself. He saw instinctively that Homer in rhyme, was like Macbeth in cap and bells. He had that great primary attribute of a good translator, the *instinct* of knowing exactly the metre in his own tongue, that best suited the *hexameter*, or the *what-not*, of another. A worse poet would have rivalled the *Poly Olbion*, in another attempt at English hexameter; as poor Boyd did in the mongrel verse he made out of *terza rima*, and something else; while Carey seized at once the verse of Milton as what would have been the verse of Dante. On the same principle, Cowper translated Homer into blank verse; and a noble translation it is. Call it what you will, *as a poem*, and rank it where you choose, with respect to the rival work, Cowper's is *Homer*. If you prefer the other, it is only because you prefer English to Greek, and Pope to Mæonides. You have a right to your taste, and it may be you are correct in it; but in comparing the two translators, you must divest yourself of this prejudice. The only question is, which telescope brings the sun most perfectly to our vision. You may like fine colors—but a telescope is better for being achromatic.

Byron thought *no one* could read Cowper's *Iliad* through. He meant *he* could not, while he had Pope's all by heart; as what school-boy has not! The truth was that Byron was better adapted to judge of Pope than of Homer; that was all! And we are sure, that had he ever set about the *study* of “the blind old man of Scio's rocky isle,” and really endeavored to discover its meaning, he would not have employed his favorite to help him out of his difficulties.

But sincerely do we regret, with Mr. Grimshawe, that this laborious work should have deprived the world of more



original poetry from Cowper's pen. Yet he seems to have finished his *task* on earth before he commenced this; and translation was a dignified *amusement* for the close of life. The edition of Milton which he undertook, employed the other spare hours of his earthly existence; and his translation of Milton's Latin, and of his own versicles into that language, cannot be too much praised. But the bard was on his way to the tomb. His lines to his Mary have drawn tears in many a bright eye; and even the curling lip of Byron could not refuse them praise. Slowly, and with dignity he went down to the grave; himself the only doubter of his joyful resurrection, and denied that consolation of hope, which his pen had done so much to encourage in others.

Of no poet in the language is Mrs. Hemans' beautiful allegory of the *Pearl-fisher* so true as of Cowper. While we admire the chaste and holy beauty of what he has left us, we are indeed looking at a coronet of pearls, that dazzle with their beauty, while they charm with their purity. Too true it is, however, that every one of them was brought from the deep of his spirit with a sigh; and the light they throw around them, was purchased at no meaner cost than the dear life of the diver.

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## ARTICLE XI.

### BIBLICAL CRITICISMS AND REMARKS.

By Josiah W. Gibbs, Prof. Sac. Lit., Yale College, New Haven, Con.

#### A PECULIAR USE OF THE NUMBER FORTY.

THERE is a peculiarity in the Biblical use of the number *forty*, which occasions its recurrence much more frequently than would otherwise be the case. This peculiarity consists in its being employed sometimes as a sacred, and sometimes as a round or indefinite number.

As a *sacred* number it is apt to occur in religious and civil institutions, in cases where originally other numbers would seem to have been equally appropriate. Thus forty days

were fulfilled for embalming Israel, Gen. 50 : 3 ; and this is said to have been the usual custom. Moses fasted forty days and forty nights, once and again, Ex. 24 : 18, 34 : 28, Deut. 9 : 9, 18, 10 : 10. Elijah fasted forty days and forty nights, 1 Kings 19 : 8. Our Saviour fasted forty days and forty nights, Matt. 4 : 2, Luke 4 : 2. (Hence lent, Ital. *quaresima*, Fr. *carême*, a fast of forty days observed by Christians.) It was probably owing to forty days being thus the usual period of humiliation, and to this period being spent by the spies in searching out the land of Canaan, that the Israelites were doomed to wander forty years in the wilderness, Num. 14 : 33, 34. Connected with this are perhaps Ezekiel's bearing the iniquity of Judah forty days, Ezek. 4 : 6, and the judgment for forty years denounced on Egypt, Ezek. 29 : 11, 12, 13. Punishment by stripes was restricted by the Mosaic law to forty, Deut. 25 : 3. (Comp. 2 Cor. 11 : 24.) The period for the purification of the mother of a male-child was forty days, Lev. 12 : 2, 4. (Hence *quarantine*, in law, the widow's privilege of remaining in the mansion-house for forty days, and the restraint of intercourse on a vessel from a suspected port.)

It also occurs as a *round* or indefinite number, although it may be difficult to specify the instances. Of the twenty-eight items which make up the length of time from the birth of Moses to the death of David, ten are periods of forty years ; viz. the three periods in the life of Moses, Acts 7 : 23, 30, Ex. 7 : 7, Deut. 34 : 7 ; the rest which the Israelites enjoyed under Othniel, Judg. 3 : 11 ; the rest under Deborah and Barak, Judg. 5 : 31 ; the rest under Gideon, Judg. 8 : 28 ; the oppression of the Philistines, Judg. 13 : 1 ; the judging of Eli, 1 Sam. 4 : 18 ; the reign of Saul, Acts 13 : 21 ; and the reign of David, 1 K. 2 : 11. Some of these periods are without doubt round numbers. Of a similar nature are perhaps the rain of forty days during the deluge, Gen. 7 : 4, 12, 17 ; Noah's waiting forty days, Gen. 8 : 6 ; and the respite allowed to the Ninevites, Jon. 3 : 4.

This peculiarity of the number forty, which is properly Shemitish, is found also among the Arabians, and has passed from them to the Persians, Turks, and modern Greeks, as the following examples will show.

The palace of Persepolis whose magnificent ruins are still to be seen by travellers, is called by the natives *Tshihl*

*Minâr*, i. e. forty pillars, because it consisted of many pillars. This is noticed by Chardin, (*Voyage en Perse*, Tome viii. p. 403, Ed. Langles.) who adds that in Persian a court consisting of many pillars is called *Tshel Setun*, i. e. forty pillars, and a chandelier of many lights. *Tshel Cherac*, i. e. forty lights. Comp. Heeren, (*Histor. Researches*, vol. i. p. 146-7, Ed. Talboys,) who observes that "the pillars are not exactly forty, but the Persians use the term to express any large number, and have applied it to other great palaces, for instance, that at Ispahan;" also Malcolm, (*Sketches of Persia*, vol. i. p. 212,) who observes that "forty, both in India and Persia, is used to express an indefinite number or quantity."

According to Burckhardt, (*Travels in Syria*, p. 358,) among the ruins of Ammân, the ancient *Rabbah* of the children of Ammon, is a theatre having forty rows of seats.

Rev. Jonas King, an American missionary, (*Miss. Her. Dec. 1825*, p. 371,) speaks of the *Church of the forty martyrs* at Hams, the ancient Emesa in Syria.

The milleped or centiped is called in Persia *tshihl pai*, i. e. having forty feet, (comp. Mod. Gr. *σαράνταποδαροῦσα*, from *σαράντα* forty, and *ποδάρι* foot.)

*Book of forty principles* is the title of a work written by Abu Hamed Muhammed ben Muhammed ben Ahhmed al Ghasali, of the city of Thuss, in Chorasán, who died at Bagdad, A. D. 1127. The work is in MS. in the Diezian Library at Berlin. Tholuck's *Ssufismus*, p. 18.

*Arbain* or *Arbainat*, i. e. forty, is the name of divers collections of traditions among the Arabians. *Arbain Khabar*, i. e. forty histories, is the name of a Christian work, containing the lives of forty Fathers of the desert of Hobaib in Egypt and other places. D'Herbelot *Biblioth. Orient.*

It is mentioned in commendation of the liberality of Hatem, who lived shortly before Mohammed, that he often killed forty camels to entertain his neighbors and the poor Arabs of the desert. D'Herbelot *Biblioth. Orient.*

*The forty robbers*, an eastern tale, so called, is another example of this use of the number forty. So the story of the *forty gypsies*.

In Turkey the sources of the river Scamander are called the *forty sources*. Gesen. p. 700.

In Ptochoprodromus, (*Lib. ii. v. 92*), a modern Greek

poet of the eleventh century, we find mention of *σαζαντάπηχον βλατίν*, a piece of purple forty yards long, meaning a large piece of purple.

According to a popular superstition of the modern Greeks, the polypus, (Mod. Gr. *καποδι-ὁκαπόδι*,) must be beaten forty times before it is fit to eat.

Examples of this kind, which might easily be multiplied, show clearly that there is something peculiar in the oriental use of the number forty, and justify the belief that this peculiarity had been introduced at a still earlier period into the sacred volume.

#### MISAPPREHENSIONS OF THE COMMON ENGLISH VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

Under this head I shall notice some cases in which the meaning of our translators has been perverted or misapprehended.

##### § 1. Ex. 32 : 32.

The literal rendering of the Hebrew is, "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin : and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book."

There is evidently an ellipsis after the word *sin*, to express which the older editions of the common version used a dash thus : "Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin— : and if not, blot me, I pray thee out of thy book."

But in the more modern editions of our version, a comma is placed after *wilt*, and the dash omitted after *sin*, thus : "Yet now, if thou wilt, forgive their sin : and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book." It is so also in Dr. Webster's revision.

It is not a little curious that Dr. Adam Clarke, who is very exact about such matters generally, has in this case both inserted the comma after *wilt* and retained the dash after *sin*.

##### § 2. Josh. 24 : 15, "Choose you this day whom ye will serve."

This is often quoted by ministers in preaching as a direct injunction to choose the service of Jehovah ; but if we examine the immediate context, we shall find that the command is to choose between different forms of idolatry : "And if it seem evil to you to serve Jehovah, choose you this day



whom ye will serve, whether the gods which your fathers served that were on the other side of the flood, or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell."

It is evident, however, from a more extended view of the context, that Joshua was not serious in this injunction, but that he earnestly wished the Israelites to serve Jehovah, and hoped, on well known principles of human nature, to attain this object, by leading them to form a decided resolution as to the object of their worship. It is in much the same spirit that Christ says to the Church of Laodicea, (Rev. 3 : 15.) "I would thou wert cold or hot."

§ 3. Judg. 9 : 53. "And all to brake his skull."

*Brake* here is the preterite of *break*, and *all to* is an obsolete adverb signifying *altogether*, as in the following passage from Sir T. More.

"For whan her housebande forsoke a right woorshipful rounge whan it was offred hym, she fel in hand with hym (he tolde me) and *all to* rated him."

But the modern editions now read : "And all to break his skull," as if *break* were in the infinitive mood. Dr. Webster correctly, "and broke his skull."

§ 4. Ps. 1 : 1.

Most commentators who undertake to expound this verse, find here a climax, not considering that what they regard as a climax would, on account of the negative form of the sentence, be a real letting down of the sense.

It is true indeed that the repetition denotes intensity, giving, this sentiment : "Blessed is the man that hath no sort of intercourse with any class of wicked persons."

§ 5. Ps. 17 : 15, "I shall be satisfied, when I awake, with thy likeness."

There is a strong propensity in many who use this verse to omit the comma after *awake*, although it was placed there by our translators. The parallelism confirms our common version. *As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness ; I shall be satisfied, when I awake*, scil. in a future world, *with thy likeness*, i. e. with seeing thy form.

§ 6. Ps. 84 : 9, "Behold, O God our shield, and look upon the face of thine anointed."

There is a strong tendency to place a comma after *God*, and to make *our shield* the accusative governed by *behold*. Our translators have rightly omitted the comma.

§ 7. Is. 1 : 19, 20, "If ye be willing and obedient, ye shall

*eat* the good of the land : but if ye refuse and rebel, ye shall be *devoured* with the sword : for the mouth of Jehovah hath spoken it."

There is a beautiful antithesis in these verses, which I apprehend is generally overlooked by the mere English reader, owing to the change of the verbs *eat* and *devour*, which are the same in the original.

§ 8. Is. 5: 18, "Wo unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart-rope."

Many in quoting this verse regard *sin* as a verb ; but the corresponding word in the Hebrew is a noun, and our translators without doubt so intended the English word.

If we bear in mind that *vanity* in Hebrew style means *wickedness*, (comp. Job 11: 11,) and that *iniquity* and *sin* often denote the *guilt* or *punishment* of sin, we shall have this sentiment : "Wo unto them that draw to themselves guilt with cords of wickedness, and draw to themselves punishment as with a cart-rope."

§ 9. Dan. 7: 9, "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the ancient of days did sit."

The common reader, naturally enough, understands this passage of the *overturning* or destruction of thrones, whereas a little attention to the context and to the circumstances of the case will show, that reference is had to the fixing or *setting up* of chariot thrones or moveable seats for the assessors of God in judgment.

## ARTICLE XII.

## CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Discourses and Dissertations on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice: and on the Principal Arguments advanced, and the Mode of Reasoning employed, by the opponents of those Doctrines, as held by the Established Church:—with an Appendix, containing some Strictures on Mr. Belsham's Account of the Unitarian Scheme, in his Review of Mr. Wilberforce's Treatise: together with Remarks on the Version of the New Testament lately published by the Unitarians. By the late Most Reverend William Magee, D. D., Arch Bishop of Dublin. From the Fifth London Edition, with Numerous and Important Corrections. In two Volumes. New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1839. pp. 479, 472.*

This new Edition of "*Magee on Atonement*" is beautifully executed, and is a valuable contribution to our stock of standard works in Theological and Biblical literature. We hail it in this improved form, not as a stranger, needing a formal introduction to the favorable regards of our readers; but as a friend, long known and appreciated in our Theological Seminaries, and by Biblical scholars and divines. To such it needs no commendation; and to those who are unacquainted with the work, a title-page so extended as the above is not only an indication, but almost a sufficient explanation of its scope and design. But little more need to be added, in this notice, than to assure the reader that the design thus announced has been carried out with singular ability. The filling up of the author's outlines of his argument embraces the results of much learned research and a discriminating exegesis of the most important passages of Scripture appertaining to the subject in debate.

This work is especially to be valued as being among the first to expose, by manly criticism and fearless argumentation, the fallacies of modern Unitarianism. It did more, perhaps, than any other work of its time, to dissolve the charm of those pretensions to philosophic distinction, and those claims to critical pre-eminence, which had obtained for the Unitarians of Great Britain a partial and temporary ascendancy. The foundation of the work was laid in "*Two discourses on the Scriptural Doctrines of Atonement and Sacrifice, delivered in*

the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, in the years 1798, and 1799." These occupy 41 pages of the first Volume of the Edition now before us. The remainder of the volume and more than 100 pages of the second volume are filled with "*Illustrations and Explanatory Dissertations*," on the leading topics advanced in the *Discourses*. The rest of the second volume—more than 300 pages—is an Appendix, containing the author's "*account of the Unitarian Scheme, as described by Mr. Belsham*," etc.

The *first edition* of this work, without the Appendix, was published in 1801, and the last, which was revised by the author, in 1816. During that period his attention was directed, under peculiar advantages, to the topics of the Unitarian controversy, as it existed in England, and, to some extent, in this country. His work remains a monument of his learning and zeal in defence of the truth. Later investigations, both in our own country and in Europe, have more fully elucidated the teachings of the Scriptures on some of the points of this controversy. They have given new power and point to the arguments in support of evangelical Christianity, against the haughtiness of that lettered skepticism, which presumes to reject the proffered terms of salvation, "because it cannot trace, with the finger of human science," the connexion between the cross of Christ and the redemption of man. But the work of Magee loses none of its value in consequence of the advances which have been made by others. It remains a highly satisfactory treatise on the doctrines it was designed to illustrate and defend. At the same time it furnishes an instructive history of the controversy thus far, and a clear exhibition of the *status quæstionis* at the date of its publication.

Appended to the whole are a list of texts explained, and of authors referred to, in the body of the work, which are valuable as aids to renewed investigations of the same or of kindred subjects.

2.—*Handbuch der neuesten theologischen Literatur, oder Anleitung zur Kenntniss der in den neuesten Zeiten (in den letzten siebenzehn Jahren) erschienenen vorzüglichen und brauchbaren theologischen Schriften.* (*Manual of recent Theological Literature, or Introduction to a Knowledge of the most important and useful Theological Writings of the last Seventeen Years.* By W. D. Fuhrmann, Evangelical Preacher in Hamm.) Vol. I. Iserlohn & Barmen, 1836.

The intention of the deceased author in composing this work was partly to complete his Manual of Theological Liter-



ature,\* and partly to compensate for the non-appearance of the promised continuations to the similar and earlier undertakings of Zimmermann† and Winer.‡ Although this latter reason is now in a good measure rendered nugatory by the third edition of Winer's work, that of Fulman, though not free from defects, possesses some advantages over it as well as over the Universal Dictionary of Theological Literature by Danz. Winer's Manual contains no special enumeration of the essays that have appeared in the journals from time to time, although they comprise a far greater amount of valuable matter than inaugural addresses and programmes; this department has been well attended to by our author. Again, he appends to the titles of most of the books a list of their contents, and to all of them critical remarks, consisting chiefly of *resumés* of the opinions expressed in reviews; this of course in the works of Winer and Danz, the plan of which embraces the whole literature of theology, was entirely out of the question. From this source too arises the principal fault of M. Fuhrmann's work; for, being confined by his ministerial duties to a continued residence in a small town, he was necessarily acquainted by personal inspection with but a small part of the books he had occasion to notice. Hence he was compelled to rely too much on the notices in reviews for both his statements and his critiques; and consequently, as might have been anticipated, a number of inaccuracies crept into the former, while the latter not unfrequently appear to waver between conflicting opinions. Having premised thus much, we will now give the contents of the volume, which are as follows.

Section First. *Introductory Writings*, comprising those on study and science in general, and theological studies in particular, lexicons and encyclopedias, histories of theology and theological literature, and notices of books and periodical literature relative to theology.

Section Second. *Biblical Literature*, or critico-exegetical theology, containing, 1, works on the original languages of Scripture and their cognate dialects; 2, on the worth and usefulness of the Bible; 3, translations of the whole Bible; 4, portions of Scripture for the use of schools; 5, apparatus for the illustration of the Old and New Testaments, such as introductions, concordances, dictionaries of the Bible, works on Biblical archeology, geography, history, chronology, and natural

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\* Handbuch der theologischen Literatur, 2 Bde, Leipzig, 1818—21.

† Jahrbücher der theolog. Literatur.

‡ Handbuch der theolog. Literatur.

history; characters of Biblical personages; the poetry and *μῦθοι* of the Bible; illustrations of the Bible from profane authors; hermeneutics, or theory of Biblical exegesis; 6, further illustrations of the Old and New Testaments; containing Bibles with annotations, and collections of works on single portions of Scripture; 7, exegetical writings on the Old Testament; 8, exegetical writings on the New Testament.

The remaining portion of the work contains the literature of systematic theology, of dogmatic theology and its history of Biblical theology, symbolics, and polemics.

3.—*The Union Bible Dictionary. Prepared for the American Sunday School Union, and revised by the Committee of Publication. Philadelphia, 1839. pp. 522.*

Some years since the Sunday School Union reprinted from the British Press an abridgement of *Brown's Dictionary of the Bible*. This abridgement was materially improved by the labors of the Rev. Dr. Alexander of Princeton, and had an extensive sale. But one opinion was expressed of its essential adaptedness to the wants of the community. It supplied, at a small expense, a desideratum which had been long felt in the Sunday School, the Bible Class, and the Family Library. To the diligent reader of the Bible, who could not avail himself of larger and more expensive works, this work was indispensable. It was extensively sought for.

It was at first, however, published in the duodecimo size, and in small type. In these respects, it was ill adapted to some classes of readers. The advances also which have been recently made in Biblical knowledge called for important improvements in many articles of the work. It has accordingly been diligently revised, as we are assured, by competent Biblical scholars, who have availed themselves of the information furnished by modern travellers in the East, and especially by American Missionaries, to whose journals frequent references are made.

The result is a somewhat enlarged, and a much improved edition of the *Bible Dictionary*, which is now presented to the public in a substantial octavo volume, stereotyped in an economical manner, with no waste of margin, and in a fair type. It also contains a great variety of wood cut engravings, illustrating many of the materials and customs named and referred to in the Scriptures, and two maps, the one presenting the countries named in the Bible, the other a map of Palestine.

We most cordially commend this volume to our readers as a work of inestimable value, especially to such as have not the means of access to larger works.

4.—*Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States.* By Francis L. Hawks, D. D. Vol. II. New-York, John S. Taylor, 1839. pp. 523.

The above is the general title of a proposed series of volumes, of which this is the second. The specific title of the present volume is, "*A Narrative of Events connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland.*"

Those who have read the former volume of this series, (devoted to the history of the rise and progress of the Episcopal Church in Virginia,) need not be told that the author possesses some admirable qualities as a writer of history. His habits are manifestly those of a practical observer of passing events. His conceptions, therefore, of the relations and bearings of the events of other times are clear and vivid; and his style, like the flow of his thoughts, is free and easy. He moulds the materials of his composition into an entertaining form, and leads his readers into the spirit of the scenes which he describes. His "*Contributions*" are not dull and uninteresting narratives, but books, which one who begins to read, will wish to read through.

The materials of the volume now under consideration are of a highly interesting character. Dr. Hawks, it appears, was requested by the General Convention of the Episcopal Church to prepare the history of the several dioceses in the United States. He accordingly visited England and pursued the necessary researches among the original documents relating to the origin and early history of Episcopacy in this country. In these researches, he says, he possessed "every desirable facility." He has thus collected a mass of facts before unknown to American readers. And what are *facts* relating to the early settlement and religious history of the few and feeble colonies which constituted the germ of our nation, but topics of the most intense curiosity, and of thrilling interest to American citizens?

Our author begins with the first endeavors of George Calvert, first Baron of Baltimore in Ireland, to obtain a patent of land in this country for the establishment of a colony, in 1624; relates the actual granting of the patent to his son Cecil, who

succeeded to his estate and title in 1632; and the commencement of the settlement in Maryland, in 1634. These events are spread before the reader as preparatory to the history of the Episcopal Church in that state, which began its organized existence in 1676.

The vicissitudes through which that branch of the church has been called to pass for nearly two hundred years, have been various, perplexing, and often marked with strong and vigorous party contention. And division, it would seem, is not yet at an end in that diocese. Its convention in 1838, after a protracted endeavor to elect a Bishop, failed of its object, the contest being between the *high-church* and *low-church* parties.

Unacquainted as we are, with many of the sources from which the materials of this narrative are drawn, we shall not presume to pronounce judgment in respect to our author's historical accuracy. He is "first in his own cause," and "seemeth just." If he has failed in faithfulness and honesty, some neighbor of his will doubtless *come and search him*.

This volume is got up in the very best style of Mr. Taylor's publications.

- 5.—*The Poetical Works of Robert Southey, Collected by Himself. Ten Volumes in One.* New-York: D. Appleton & Co., 1839. pp. 810, royal octavo.

This is a beautiful complete edition of the Poetical Works of the splendid Laureate. We think it a good sign of the times, that an American publisher can trust enough capital to the taste of the community, to afford us such a treat, at such a moderate price. Heretofore, the admirers of Southey have been obliged to pay *seven* or *eight* dollars to Galignani and the revenue; or twice as much to an English publisher, for a possession which Appleton now affords them, at *three dollars and a half*. The Edition is better than Galignani's, though *got up* on the same plan. The type is larger, and certainly as handsome; and the book is beautifully executed.

So much for the outside. Only *en passant*, we must remind our readers, that while for twenty years *Southey* has been unpublished in America, there has scarcely appeared a dirty novel, or a scurrilous farce on the other side of the water, which has not been greedily snapped up by our American houses, and republished, some of them in *twenty-four hours*! There must be something wrong in our copy-right laws! The boy who was willing to poison himself at college, with



Bulwer's thin and washy messes, could be gratified at any book-shop for half-a-dollar: while the worthier student who desired the uncontaminated nourishment of Southey's real intellectual food, had weeks to wait, before he could get his high-priced volume through some great house at New York, after paying *two shillings* a pound to the custom-house, a tax on sound learning!

No words are wanted from us, in praise of Southey's works themselves. The friend of Wordsworth and of Coleridge must be a man of more than ordinary genius, as well as goodness. He is well known in America, chiefly as a prose-writer; and certainly his eminence in that branch of literature, is sufficient to create a question whether he is to be more valued as a poet, or as a man of letters. His prose is nearly a library of itself, and the scholars of England usually regard him as *authority*, in the use of the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

We recommend this volume to every good man, who loves poetry. To students and clergymen it will be a welcome present; and no *Annual* could be half so acceptable to a lady of taste, however rare its binding and vignette. *Thalaba* is an exquisite oddity. We never can tell exactly what it is, that renders this poem so dear in memory! The story is certainly a secondary affair; but the music of the verse, and the richness of the language, are "a perpetual feast." Let any reader take the passage, for instance, descriptive of the ruins of Babylon, and *Thalaba* wandering among them. The whole scene from the opening of the book, is so perfectly laid before us, that we seem to be there with the wanderer. *The Pelican in the desert* has been beautifully introduced; and the language of Holy Writ in relation to that great city, is employed in a masterly manner; and with a calmness of detail, that is to our mind the very perfection of poetical painting. Of Southey as a versifier, it is sufficient to say that he was the master of Shelley.

*The Curse of Kehama*, is another triumph of genius—and is valuable as containing the only full account of Hindoo Mythology, which we possess in any popular work. *Madoc* too, ought to be interesting to us in America, as containing a poetical explanation of the aboriginal remains of our country, with the traditional and fabulous histories of *Aztlan*, and other great cities that have been, in this our *old*—new world.

We welcome, and recommend the introduction of such works as these into our country. Their influence on our literature and national taste, cannot be other than happy and desirable; and we confidently trust that the growing taste for poetry observable

among us, if thus directed, and well regulated by worthy standards, is destined to bring forth the latent genius of America, in poetical works which will amply repay our mother country for all she has given us.

6.—*The Obligations of the World to the Bible: A series of Lectures to Young Men.* By Gardiner Spring. New York: Taylor & Dodd, 1839. pp. 404.

This is a publication of more than ordinary value and interest. Aside from the influence, which the Bible exerts upon the spiritual welfare of men, it is maintained in these Lectures, that there is not a department of life, civil, social, or intellectual, which is not under special obligations to these oracles of divine truth. The author deserves well of the Christian community, for thus aiding to place the Scriptures in their legitimate sphere of honor and excellence. The style of the work is chaste and attractive, though somewhat labored;—the topics, judiciously chosen and well arranged; the arguments and illustrations generally ingenious, logical, and conclusive. An instance of special felicity of argumentation may be found in the lecture, in which is enforced the obligations of the world to the Bible for the Sabbath. The same may be said of the lecture showing the influence of the Scriptures upon the social institutions. A somewhat defective course of reasoning is however to be found in the lecture in support of the hypothesis, that the art of writing was first imparted to Moses, at the giving of the law. The best critics agree in placing the life of Job in the early times of the postdiluvian patriarchs, or, at least, previous to the time of Abraham. As ancient writings are spoken of in his day, it seems quite clear that the art must have been taught and practised before the time of Moses.

We regret to find in a work so truly meritorious, many inaccuracies both historical and typographical. Chedorlaomer, (inaccurately printed Cherdorlaomer) is in one place made to be contemporary with Moses. On p. 48, Sanchoniathan, (inaccurately printed Sanconiathan,) Berosus, Ctesias and Manetho are styled, "the oldest human historians," whereas Ctesias was contemporary with Xenophon, and Manetho and Berosus flourished still later, in the time of Alexander the Great. They all, with the exception of Sanchoniathan, if such a person ever existed, which is quite doubtful, lived subsequently to the time of Herodotus the *father* of profane history, and also of Thucydides. Page 58, Dr. S. says, the Bible "has given to devotional poetry a glow, a richness, a tenderness in vain sought

for in Shakspeare or Cowper, in Scott or Byron." On what ground Cowper is thus excluded from the class of devotional poets, and named in connexion with Shakspeare, Byron, etc., we know not. On page 59 is the following sentence: "How much more picturesque than Homer is Solomon or Job." We have often seen comparisons instituted between Isaiah and Homer, and indeed the matchless fire and energy of these great poets will allow, and even invite a comparison. But we never before heard that the *picturesque* was the chief or peculiar characteristic of the Grecian bard; or that his epics, the Iliad and Odyssey, could be compared to the pastorals of the Jewish monarch. A similar failure to designate by a single epithet the peculiar excellence of a writer, may be seen on page 53, where Addison is styled "the most neat and *nervous*" of all the English classical writers. Surely the author must have forgotten the prose writings of Milton, Swift, Sir Francis Bacon, Hooker, Chillingworth, Harrington, Cudworth, and other writers of the early age of English literature: or of Johnson, Burke, and a host of others of a later age, all of which are far superior in *strength* to the writings of Addison. The harmony, simplicity, and elegance of Addison's compositions have rarely if ever been equalled, but they have always been regarded as deficient in strength. Blair represents him as "failing in strength and precision."

We observe a want of uniformity in the orthography of proper names. The followers of the false prophet are sometimes called *Mahomedans*, and sometimes *Mahometans*. The name of Prof. Dugald Stewart is at one time, *Stewart*, at another *Stuart*. Bishop Warburton's name is also printed in different ways. Nor is the author always correct in his Latin quotations, as may be seen in "*clare et venerabile nomen*," on page 98. The typographical errors are numerous.

We allude to these blemishes, not as detracting from the essential merit of the Lectures, but as furnishing a warning to every author to examine well his positions, authorities, and proof-sheets. The type and external execution of the book, aside from these inaccuracies, is altogether attractive.

- 7.—*Annals of Yale College, from its Foundation to the year 1831. By Ebenezer Baldwin. To which is added an Appendix, bringing it down to 1838. Second Edition.* New Haven: B. & W. Noyes, 1838. pp. 343.

It is interesting to trace the history of our oldest institutions of learning to their small beginnings in the piety, patriotism



and enlightened philanthropy of the early inhabitants of this country. These histories read lessons to us of important practical bearing upon the numerous enterprises which are now on foot, to establish similar institutions in our new states and territories. In the light of what has been, we may anticipate the most desirable results from similar endeavors. We may learn, too, the many difficulties and severe trials which the founders of such institutions, in new countries, will have to encounter.

Yale College is one of the most venerable of our literary seminaries. Though second to Cambridge in age and extent of endowment, it yields not the palm in the thoroughness of its instruction and the extent of its usefulness; and on these and some other accounts, it has of late become more a favorite than its senior. That it is so much younger than Cambridge, appears to have been the result of the kindness of its founders towards that institution, in its infancy, rather than of their lack of literary zeal. For a number of years previous to the commencement of their own institution, the inhabitants of the New Haven colony freely contributed to the support of Cambridge College, under the approval of the General Court, authorizing the collection, from "every one in this plantation, whose heart is willing to contribute thereunto, *a peck of wheat or the value of it.*" These acts of kindness are related in the Annals in the language of original records from the year 1639. In 1701 the charter of Yale College was granted, and its first Commencement was held in Saybrook, 1702, where it remained until 1713, after which the change of its location was warmly discussed; it was removed from town to town, in the colony, and had no certain dwelling-place, until 1717, when it was permanently established at New Haven.

To the numerous graduates of Yale College, these Annals should be an acceptable present while they contain much that is curious and instructive to the founders and conductors of other institutions.

8.—*The Condensed Commentary and Family Exposition of the Holy Bible; containing the most valuable Criticisms of the best Biblical Writers, with Practical Reflections, and Marginal References, Chronology, Indexes, etc.* By Rev. Ingram Cobbin, M. A. London: Thomas Ward & Co., 1837.

This Commentary is of nearly the same dimensions as the "Cottage Bible," which was re-printed in New York several



years since, and edited by Rev. Dr. Patton. It differs from the Cottage Bible, in that the Notes are more critical, and the Practical Reflections are entirely separate from the Notes. The Notes are little more than a *compilation*, selected from such authors as Patrick, Lowth, Whitby, Gill, Guise, Doddridge, Macknight, Stuart, etc. The Practical Reflections are brief, but judicious and instructive. The work discovers a wide range of Biblical reading, and must have cost the Editor much labor. Its spirit is decidedly evangelical, and it may be used with profit in families, and by Sabbath School teachers. It is very little known, we believe, in this country.

- 9.—*Elements of Mental Philosophy, Embracing the Two Departments of the Intellect and the Sensibilities.* By Thomas C. Upham, Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy in Bowdoin College. In two Volumes, Third Edition. Portland. William Hyde, 1839. pp. 461, 468.

These volumes have been for some years before the public, and have acquired for their author a place in the first rank of writers on Mental Philosophy. They have just made their appearance in a Third Edition. As separate treatises they are important, and bid fair to become standard works in the departments to which they are devoted. But they are still more valuable, considered in connexion with the continued investigations of the author. They are the commencement of a series of works, which are designed to give a concise, but on the whole, a comprehensive and complete view of the leading principles of the great subject of Mental Philosophy.

The *first* volume is occupied with the perceptive or intellectual part of man; that portion of the human mind whose office it is to perceive, to abstract, to compare, to combine and reason.

The *second* volume is wholly taken up with another, and, in some respects, a still more important part of our nature, the *sensibilities*. It of course embraces the interesting subject of the emotions in their almost numberless varieties;—of the desires, which are based upon the emotions;—of those complex states of mind, which are denominated the passions and the affections;—and also of the distinct classes of moral feelings.

Besides the volumes above described, the *third* volume of the series has been some time before the public, and is highly appreciated. It is a "*Treatise on the Will*," and is published separately. This work is not designed to present a merely theological aspect and bearing of the subject, but is a purely philosophical and practical treatise.

A *fourth* volume, which is also to be published separately, and which will complete the series, we are happy to learn is now in the press of the Messrs. Harper of New-York. This volume is devoted to the subject of *Imperfect and Disordered Mental Action*.

Thus we are likely soon to be put in possession of a complete system of Mental Philosophy from the pen of an American author, who is already taking rank with the most approved and distinguished writers on the Mind. Professor Upham has for a number of years occupied the chair which he now honors in Bowdoin College. He has studied with diligence the standard works in our own language and the Psychological systems of the German and French Schools. He has pursued his investigations not as a partisan, but as a calm and candid inquirer after truth. His system therefore is not a copy of any other, but without any apparent effort at novelty, is strongly marked with original thought. His inquiries are conducted in a spirit, which, without exciting needless controversy, is well suited to advance the cause of mental science.

An Abridgement of the first two volumes above named has also been published, embracing in a condensed view the leading doctrines of the larger work. This is in one volume, and has already reached its *Fourth Edition*.

These works, except the Treatise on the Will, have not heretofore been noticed in the Repository. We have therefore thought it proper to allude to them all, in the present notice. When the volume on Imperfect and Disordered Mental Action shall have made its appearance, we will give it our attention;—and we hope hereafter to see the whole series presented to the public in a uniform edition, which we may notice as a whole.

- 10.—*The Law of Christ respecting Civil Obedience, especially in the Payment of Tribute; with an Appendix of Documents and Notes: to which are added Two Addresses on the Voluntary Church Controversy. By John Brown, D. D., Minister of the United Associate Congregation, Broughton Place, Edinburgh; and Professor of Exegetical Theology to the United Secession Church. Third Edition, Improved and Enlarged. London: William Ball, 1839. pp. 539, octavo.*

This work, which has been politely furnished us by the author, we regret to say, has so recently come to hand that

we are not able to give it the notice which it deserves, in the present No. of the Repository. We have, however, examined it sufficiently to perceive that it is an able and a finished treatise on the general subject to which it is devoted. It is a work which requires to be studied. The topics embraced in it involve some of the deepest principles of morals and of political economy; principles too, which have been often and extensively misunderstood and perverted. A hasty judgment, passed upon this work, could not, and ought not to be respected. We shall, therefore, at present, only briefly state our impressions, after a hurried perusal of portions of the volume, reserving our remarks on the arguments, by which its main positions are sustained, for a more formal Review in a future No. of the Repository.

The work is founded on that celebrated and often-repeated passage in Romans 13: 1—7. "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers," etc., and is an exposition and enforcement of the doctrines of the Apostle in this passage, as understood by our author, in their application to the much agitated question of "Church and State," in the British empire. The occasion of the composition and publication of this discussion, first from the pulpit, and then from the press, was the following.

Dr. Brown, it appears is the only minister of the United Secession Church in Edinburgh, who, in consequence of the value of the house which he occupies, is liable to be assessed for the "annuity tax," for the support of the Established Church. So long ago as 1835, having declined to pay the tax imposed for the above purpose, he was publicly accused, in the city papers, of having violated the law of Christ contained in the passage above named. This induced him to attempt the exposition, which was first prepared for the people of his own charge, and is now before the public, fortified by a mass of authorities from Ethical writers of the highest name, which have swelled his Appendix to a size much surpassing that of the exposition itself. This collection of opinions is highly instructive, and adds much to the value of the work.

Our author goes the whole for sustaining the authority of the civil government, and for enforcing obedience to it, in regard to all the legitimate ends and purposes of government. But the compulsory support of a particular form of religious doctrine or worship he treats as a usurpation on the part of the civil government, to which we are not bound to submit; and maintains, that here, "we ought to obey God rather than men," and to submit to the "spoiling of our goods," rather

than to exactions so unauthorized by the word of God and the legitimate ends of government. In these positions American Christians, as a body, will stand with him. They accord with the principles of our own institutions, and with our most cherished notions of religious liberty. We shall be inclined therefore to regard our author's exposition with candor.

The question respecting civil establishments of religion has become one of intense interest in Great Britain. Our author says, it is a question "which yields to few in magnitude, as involving in its right resolution, the most valuable interests of mankind, both as individuals and as civil and religious bodies, and which has at length excited such a sense of its true character, as secures that it shall never cease to agitate the public mind of this country, till it is satisfactorily settled. To many, as well as to the author, it is evident that it admits of only one mode of satisfactory settlement:—*the entire disconnexion of Church and State.*" Again he remarks, "It is surely desirable to all enlightened lovers of their country, that the great crisis, which is obviously approaching—which cannot to be avoided, nor probably very long delayed—the most important crisis which has occurred in this country since the Reformation—should pass like the revolution of 1832, without disturbance of the public peace, and with the least possible sacrifice of individual happiness."

- 11.—*The Case of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. before the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, Impartially Reported by disinterested Stenographers ; Including all the Proceedings, Testimony, and Arguments at Nisi Prius, and before the Court in Bank ; with the Charge of Judge Rogers, the Verdict of the Jury, and the Opinion of Chief Justice Gibson. The whole Compiled and Prepared for the Press, by Rev. D. W. Lathrop. Philadelphia : A. McElroy, 1839. pp. 628, octavo.*

Our readers were informed in the last No. of the Repository that this volume was in the press, and nearly ready for publication. We also promised a Review of it in the present No., to be prepared by a gentleman of the Bar. This promise would have been fulfilled, had not the publication of the book been delayed quite beyond our expectations. It must now be deferred until our next. The volume has come to hand too late to allow us to give any thing more than a brief notice of it, at present.—This delay has been occasioned by the mass of matter to be reviewed by the editor, Mr. Lathrop, and his desire to make the work as perfect as possible, rather than to hurry



it through the press, to meet the demands of the anxious expectation which its promised publication had awakened.

As it is, the book surpasses our anticipations in all respects, in which we have had time to examine it. The publisher's advertisement promised us a volume of about 400 pages: these have been increased to more than 600 full pages, closely printed; and no expense appears to have been spared by the publisher, which was necessary, to present a full report of the case. The ample materials possessed by the editor have been arranged with great care and labor, so as to present the whole case, through the several stages of its progress to its present position before the Court and the public.

The statements of the opening Counsel, the documents given in evidence, and the examination of witnesses occupy 264 pages. The remainder of the volume, 364 pages, presents the arguments of the learned Counsel on both sides, the Charge of Judge Rogers and the Opinion of the Chief Justice. As an intellectual repast, and a source of instruction on the great principles of law, which lie at the foundation of our religious freedom and rights, this portion of the work cannot fail to be sought for and read by intelligent men of all classes; while the importance of the question pending, the vast and varied consequences involved in its right decision, will render it a work of intense interest to both the ministers and members of the Presbyterian church. Some of these arguments have probably not been surpassed in the trial of any cause in our country.

On the whole we are highly gratified with the appearance of this publication. We hail it as a most important accession to our stock of knowledge on the general subject of the rights and privileges of the churches and their members; and though much and deeply to be deplored have been the occasions of the judicial investigations here reported, we may yet hope that some principles will be settled and some threatened evils avoided, by the trial, which will more than counter-balance the calamities which have attended its progress.

We fully concur with the editor in the following remarks in regard to the importance of this investigation. "The case necessarily involved the discussion, by distinguished civilians, of great principles of law, order, and constitutional and natural rights, which have given to it an importance, rarely if ever attached to a judicial investigation in our country. Eminent lawyers, not connected with the case, have even said, that in view of the extensive range, and weighty character of the questions involved, it is the most important judicial case to be found on the legal records of the world."

- 12.—*History and General Views of the Sandwich Islands' Mission.* By Rev. Sheldon Dibble, a Missionary at those Islands for seven years. New York: Taylor & Dodd, 1839. pp. 268.

This little volume is a tribute of gratitude from the author, to those numerous friends, both at the South and the North, whose hospitality he has enjoyed during a sojourn of about two years in this country, for the benefit of his health, and who in many instances solicited its publication. It is chiefly historical and descriptive, presenting the substance of a series of Lectures prepared by Mr. Dibble and delivered in different places, with the hope of exciting a more enlightened and permanent interest in the cause of Missions. Much of the information contained in it may be gathered from the "Missionary Herald," but it is here presented in a condensed form, and with a completeness which exhibits the story of the mission to the Sandwich Islands, its wonderful success, and the contrast between those Islands as they now are and as they *were*, only a few years since, more vividly than we have seen it presented in any other work. It is a faithful narrative and a good book.

- 13.—*The Bride of Fort Edward, Founded on an Incident of the Revolution.* New York: S. Colman, 1839. pp. 174.

On reading this little volume we could not suppress the remark that the author, who could write so good a book, ought to write a better one. It is the production, we are told, of a lady, whose literary acquisitions are considerable, and who is not wholly unknown to the public, but who has chosen to withhold her name. So, as the web of her discourse is designed to involve the reader in some doubt, as to the whereunto it is tending, she hopes also to heighten his interest in the mystery of the plot, by concealing the hand that weaves it.

Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this book, as a whole, we think the author has accomplished the very thing she designed. She has seized upon a touching event connected with a well known crisis in the progress of the Revolutionary war, and presents us with a succession of Dialogues, with suitable changes of scene and of persons, in which the actors in that event are made to tell the story of the times to each other. It is an effort of imagination and of genius to copy nature in picturing to the mind's eye the scenes of by-gone

days; and it is a successful effort. The fault we find with the picture is, that it copies nature a little too accurately in some things, and allows the soldiers, now and then, to use profane expressions, which we think might better have been omitted. But the book is exceedingly entertaining, to say the least of it. We commenced the reading, and were so allured from scene to scene, that we had no heart to close it, until we had seen the end. It contains some beautiful passages and sentiments. The following is worth the reading of the book to treasure it up in memory. A frantic mother weeps over her lovely daughter, slain by a cruel death, and says, "Did God, who loves as mothers love their babes, see this? Had I been there with my love, in the heavens, could I have given up this innocent and tender child, a prey to the wild Indians? No!—and legions of pitying angels waiting but my word!—No,—no.

"*Elliston*. Had you been *there*,—from that far centre whence God's eye sees all, you had beheld what lies in darkness here. Forth from this fearful hour, you might have seen peace, like a river, flowing o'er the years to come; and smiles, ten thousand thousand smiles, down the long ages brightening, sown in this day's tears. Had you been there with God's *all*-pitying eye, the pitying legions had waited your word in vain; for once, unto a sterner doom, for the world's sake, he gave his Son."

- 14.—*Travels in North America, during the years 1834, 1835, and 1836. Including a Summer-residence with the Pawnee Tribe of Indians, in the remote Prairies of the Missouri, and a Visit to Cuba and the Azore Islands. By the Hon. Charles Augustus Murray. In Two Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839. pp. 324, 247.*

It is interesting and profitable to make the acquaintance of respectable foreigners who visit our country for the purpose of acquiring information; and we love to hear what they say of us when they return home and publish the story of their discoveries and adventures, for the instruction of the old world. Mr. Murray is a gentleman of this class; a Scotchman, who had leisure to protract his stay in the countries he visited, long enough to learn something of the scenes through which he passed. He kept a Journal, which, after some delay, he has published, much in the order in which it was originally written. It is on the whole a sensible book; one of the most respectable works of the kind which we have met with, and may be read with profit by such as have not already had more than

enough of this sort of reading. The residence of the author among the Indians is particularly interesting.

- 15.—*Harper's Family Library No. LXXV.—Animal Mechanism and Physiology ; being a plain and familiar Exposition of the Structure and Functions of the Human System : designed for the use of Families and Schools. By John H. Griscom, M. D. New-York: Harper & Brothers, 1839. pp. 357.*

This work is admirably adapted to the end proposed by the author. It communicates the results of a thorough acquaintance with the subject in a plain and familiar style, and is illustrated with a sufficient number of wood cuts to exhibit the various parts of the human system to the reader in an intelligible manner. We are glad to see the "Family Library" continued by the enterprising publishers by the addition of works so instructive and useful.

- 16.—*Mc Donner : or Truth through Fiction. By Jacob Abbott, Boston : Crocker & Brewster, 1839. pp. 283.*

Several persons around us read *Mc Donner* without scarcely rising from their seats. This, it may be said, is an infallible evidence of a novel,—of a fiction in the genuine and naked sense of that term. It may, however, be replied that there is not one word about *love* in the volume, from beginning to end. A novel does not end legitimately except in the catastrophe of marriage. In the second place, the great object of the work is not to frame a story for the sake of a story. The writer's manifest aim is, not to beguile a passing hour, to amuse a fashionable lady, to arouse the vehement passions of our nature, or even to furnish food for the intellect. His great object is one which lies in the field of practical theology—to show men that they need an atoning Savior and a renovating Spirit, that no efforts of their own to attain salvation will be effectual without almighty aid. These two collateral and connected truths—the need of expiation and the need of sanctification—are presented in a very clear and impressive manner. We think most decidedly that the reader will carry away a deep moral impression. The story is told with great fidelity to nature. The incidents are narrated just as they occur in real life. The writer has unquestionably seen, or heard, or felt the very things which he describes. At the same time, there is scarcely any thing which is overdrawn.



The writer avoids the danger of grouping together too many real incidents. What he describes may have occurred in the exact order in which he narrates them. Who has not been annoyed in a stage-coach with many a grumbler who might have furnished the original of Squire Stock?

- 17.—*The Three Last Things : the Resurrection of the Body, the Day of Judgment, and Final Retribution, by Rev. Joseph Tracy.* Boston : Crocker & Brewster, 1839. pp. 104.

This book would make an excellent tract for universal circulation. It is a clear, solemn, and earnest presentation of subjects which deeply concern every human being. It is sufficiently argumentative, while its practical bearings are most obvious. We cannot forbear strongly to commend it to all with whom our opinion may be of any value.

- 18.—*The Poets of America : Illustrated by one of her Painters.* Edited by John Keese. New York : S. Colman, 1840. pp. 284.

A specimen of this work has been submitted to us by the publisher, which we have examined with pleasure. It is an *Annual*, "got up" in a style of most exquisite beauty ; and, as is usual with publications of this class, it "takes time by the fore lock," and antedates the coming year ; that it may be ready, in the tasteful elegance of its costume, to greet the comers thereunto with a smiling welcome.

The volume is wholly composed of short pieces selected from the works of American Poets, whose names are ingeniously wrought into the frontispiece. A large number of these effusions of fancy and feeling are accompanied with graceful and delicate sketches designed and executed expressly for this work, by one of our most distinguished artists. These are beautiful and spirited illustrations not only of scenes and persons described by the Poets, but also of their elegant imaginings. The writers are Drake, Halleck, Sprague, Woodworth, Bryant, Peabody, Longfellow, Percival, Wilcox, Willis, Dana, Holmes, Pierpont, Hilhouse, Sigourney, Mellen, etc. etc. To speak of each one of this collection of gems would be as useless as it is impossible, in our brief notice. To a lover of poetry, for its own sake, that beautiful and airy imagination, the "Culprit Fay," by Drake, is well worth the price of the book ; and he who reads the "Last Leaf," by Holmes, will hardly be willing to lay aside his volume until he has treasured it up in his memory.

## ADDITIONAL NOTICES.

The following publications are on hand, some of which will be further noticed hereafter :—

The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of Christian Character, by Harvey Newcomb. Boston, James B. Dow, 1839.

Tacitus, and Cicero de Oratore, New-Haven Editions, 1839.

Poems by W. T. Bacon. New-Haven, B. & W. Noyes, 1839, pp. 214.

Criticisms, Sermons, etc. of Rev. William W. Hunt, with a Brief Memoir. Amherst, J. S. & C. Adams, 1838.

Transplanted Flowers, or Memoirs of Mrs. Rumpff, Daughter of John Jacob Astor, Esq., and the Dutchess de Broglie, Daughter of Madame de Stael: with an Appendix. By Robert Baird. New-York, John S. Taylor, 1839, pp. 159.

The Child's Book of Devotion; or Prayers and Instructions in Verse, suited to the various Relations and Conditions of Childhood and Youth: in Two Parts. By John A. Murray. With an Introduction, by Rev. William Patton, D. D. New-York, Taylor & Dodd, 1839, pp. 108.

The Military Profession in the United States, and the Means of Promoting its Usefulness and Honor; an Address delivered before the Dialectic Society of the Corps of Cadets of the Military Academy, West Point, at the close of the Annual Examination, June 19, 1839. By Benjamin F. Butler. New-York, S. Colman, 1839.

Addresses delivered at the Inauguration of the Professors of Middlebury College, March 18, 1839. Middlebury, 1839, pp. 56. This pamphlet contains the Addresses of four Professors, viz. Messrs. Stoddard, Adams, Twining, and Hough, and contains highly valuable views and suggestions.

An Address delivered in South Hadley, Mass., July 24, 1839, at the Second Anniversary of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary. By Rufus Anderson, D. D. Boston, Perkins & Marvin, 1839.

The College System of Education. A Discourse delivered before the Trustees of Hamilton College, May 8, 1839. By Simeon North, on the occasion of his Inauguration as President of the College. Utica, Bennett & Bright, 1839.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America: with an Appendix. New-York, 1839. Rev. Erskine Mason, D. D. Stated Clerk.

## AN ARTICLE FROM DR. ROBINSON.

We have received a highly interesting article from Professor Robinson, prepared for the Repository, on "*the Dead Sea, and the Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah.*" It came to hand too late for insertion in the present No., and will appear in our next. Dr. Robinson is now in Berlin, where he has been for several months past, diligently engaged in the preparation of his work on Palestine; the MS. of which was nearly completed, July 24. The London edition will probably be published in course of the coming winter. It will be accompanied by a new and complete map of the Holy Land, corrected from the notes of Dr. Robinson and Mr. Smith, by Prof. Berghaus, Foreign Hon. Member of the Royal Geographical Society of London, who is perhaps the most distinguished map-maker in the world.—In an article, extracted from the "London Geographical Journal," which has just reached us, Prof. Berghaus remarks. "In the course of my life I have had in my hands many documents in reference to geographical, and especially cartographical objects, and from them have acquired the conviction that, among all oriental travellers since the time of Niebuhr, the prize is due to the late lamented Burckhardt, so far as it respects minute attention, even to things apparently indifferent, and also accuracy in the measurement of bearings and angles, and in the specification of time for the determination of distances.

"This view, however, I must now essentially modify, after having carefully examined the Journals of Messrs. Robinson and Smith. The observations of these two travellers are so full and comprehensive, their notes upon the form and the features of the country so exact and definite, that the geographer is in a situation, on the basis of these specifications, to construct a special map of the territory, which may perhaps leave little more to be desired."

## DR. NORDHEIMER'S CONCORDANCE.

Dr. Nordheimer and Mr. W. W. Turner have issued proposals for publishing by subscription a Complete Hebrew and Chaldee Concordance of the Old Testament, with an Introduction and Appendices. It will embody all that is essential in the Concordance of Dr. Fürst, (which is now in the course of publication in Germany,) and will doubtless surpass all works of the kind within the reach of American scholars generally. It will be issued in seven parts, at *one* dollar each, making the price of the whole work to subscribers \$7. Five hundred subscribers are required to authorize the undertaking.

## INDEX TO VOLUME II.

---

### A.

- Adams, Hon. John Quincy*, his Jubilee of the Constitution, noticed 254.  
*Algie Researches*, by Schoolcraft, noticed 252.  
*America, Ante-Columbian History of*, 191.  
*Annals of Yale College*, noticed 494.  
*Ante-Columbian History of America* 191.  
*Animal Mechanism*, noticed 503.  
*Anthon's Series of Classical Works*, noticed 249.  
*Articulate Sounds, the Natural Significance of*, 166. The import of a variety of vowel-sounds 168. Semi-vowels 169. Liquid consonants 170. Nasals, dentals and palatals 171. Lingual and labial mutes—mixed consonants 172. Consonants in combination 173.  
*Atheism, Historical Sketch of*, 320. Ancient idolaters Atheists 321. Ancient philosophical sects 322. The Anaximandrian, and Eleatic 323. The Stratonic 324. Other atheists, general remarks 325. Atheism in Italy 326, in Holland and England 327, in France and America,—the forms of Atheism in modern times 329. Moral results 331.  
*Atonement and Sacrifice*, Magee on, noticed 486.  
*Audebez, Rev. J. J. Sermons of*, 332.

### B.

- Bacon's Historical Discourses, Review of* 217. Written in the true spirit of history 219. Its publication well timed 220. Historic truth rarely attained 221. Suggestions on the manner of studying history 222. Characteristics of the Puritans 225. Their literary merits 228. John Davenport 229. The principles of Congregationalism explained and defended 230. The Brownists 232. Robinson and the Congregation at Leyden 234. What is Congrega-

tionalism? 236. Its open communion 237; freedom of intercourse with other churches 239. Friendly to independent Biblical study 241.

- Baird, Rev. Robert*, remarks on French Preaching 332.  
*Bible Dictionary, The Union*, noticed 489.  
*Bible, the, Obligations of the world to*, noticed 493.  
*Biblical Criticisms and Remarks* 480. "Born of God" and "Born again," as used in the New Testament, explained 183. "Born again," better expressed by the term "regenerated" 185. Several passages explained 186. A translation of our Saviour's conversation with Nicodemus 189.  
*Bride of Fort Edward*, noticed 501.  
*Brown, Rev. John, D. D.* on the Law of Christ respecting Civil obedience, especially in the payment of tribute, noticed 497.  
*Bunyan, John, the Life and Times of*, noticed 255.  
*Bush, Rev. George*, his Hebrew Grammar noticed 244.

### C.

- Cause and Effect, an Essay on*, in connexion with the doctrines of Fatalism and Free Agency 381. The axiom that every change implies an adequate cause misapplied 382. The word "cause" explained 382. Generic cause, occasional cause and producing cause 383. Is the above axiom true in respect to mind 385. Different classes of mental acts 385. Fatalism 386. Free Agency 387. How to distinguish between producing and occasional causes 388. Priestley's doctrine of fatalism 389, explained 390, its sophistry 392. The theory of Phrenologists 392. Reasoning in a circle 395. Fatalism consists in maintaining that motive is a producing cause of volition



396. The power of opposite or contrary choice an intuitive truth 397. Why then is it so often denied in theory 399. Causes of embarrassment and perplexity 400. Some general laws of mind stated 402. Want of accurate analysis 404. Ambiguity of language 405. Questions proposed 408.
- Chapin, Rev. A. B.* on the Ante-Columbian History of America, the Dighton Rock, etc. 191.
- Christian Perfection*, Review of 143.
- The Christian Philanthropist*, noticed 247.
- Christ's Kingdom, the Duration of*, (an Exposition of 1 Cor. 15: 24—28.) 439. The design of the Apostle 439. What is intended by Christ's delivering up the kingdom to the Father 441. A principal objection 444. Inferences 445.
- Church, the, of God*, its nature and constitution 308. Note by the editor 309. The church of God one and visible 310. Its transmission and perpetuity 313, by hereditary descent 313, by voluntary assumption of church engagements 315. Qualifications of church members 316. The rule by which an individual should try himself 316, by which the church should judge 317.
- Civil Obedience, the Law of Christ respecting*, noticed 497.
- Classical Works, series of*, by Professor Anthon, noticed 249.
- Cobbin, Rev. Ingram*, His Condensed Commentary, noticed 495.
- Cogswell, Rev. William, D. D.* his *Christian Philanthropist*, noticed 247.
- Communion Sacramental* 1. A credible profession only necessary 2. Design of the Lord's Supper 3. Duty of Christians to partake of it 5. Injunctions of the Apostles respecting it 7. Perfect approval of each other in all things not required as a ground of communion 9. The right way to testify against sin 10. Are slave-holders excluded from communion 11.
- Conant, Professor T. J.*—his translation of Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar, noticed 244.
- Condensed Commentary*, noticed 495.
- Contributions to Ecclesiastical history*, noticed 490.
- Controversy, Religious*, the cessation of controversy desirable 292. Precepts and examples of Scripture 293. The propriety of controversy limited 294. The legitimate field of debate 295. The points of controversy usually unimportant 296. Controversy, in most cases, fails to convince opponents 297, is adverse to piety 298—is often used as a vehicle of slander 300, is often pursued merely for victory 302, furnishes occasions against religion 304. A better way 306.
- Cowper's Poetry and Letters*, General remarks on the usefulness of poetry 449. A Bible view of the subject 450. A controversy with Dogmaticus 454. The poetry of the Bible 455. Poetry perverted 456. Cowper's talents wisely improved 457. His boyhood 460. The characteristics of his productions 460. Their present reputation 461. His Letters 462. How collected 464. His piety 466. A trial of feeling 467. American taste 468. A notice of Cowper's works 469. Cowper compared with Pope, etc. 471. Contrasted with Byron 474.
- Cox, Rev. Samuel H., D. D.* on the phrases "Born of God," and "Born again," as used in the New Testament 183.
- Critical Notices* 244, 486.
- Criticisms, Biblical, Remarks and*, 480.
- D.
- Dictionary, the Union Bible*, noticed 489.
- Dighton Rock, Inscriptions on the*, 191. Remarks on the various copies of these inscriptions 192. General agreement 193. Meaning of the characters 194. Mr. Schoolcraft's objections answered 195.
- Discriminative Preaching*, 129.
- Duration of Christ's Kingdom*, 439.
- Duties of a Theologian*, 347.

## E.

*Ecclesiastical History, Contribution to*, noticed 490.

*Edwards, Rev. Professor B. B. and E. A. Park*, their selections from German Literature 198.

*Edwards on the Will*, Tappan's Review of, noticed 257.

*Egypt, Greece and, the origin of writing in*, 71.

*Europe*, Recent publications in 259.

*Evidence of Testimony* 14.

## F.

*Fatalism and Free Agency* 381.

*Foreign Standard Literature*, specimens of, by George Ripley, noticed 247.

*Forty, the number, a peculiar use of*, 480.

*French Preaching, Remarks on*, 332. Protestant authors of sermons 333. Their sermons short 334. Simplicity of style 335. *Onction* 335, are generally Biblical 337. Sketch of M. Audebez 338. Statement of his conversion 339. Catalogue of his works 344.

*Fuhrmann, W. D.* His Manual of recent theological literature, 487.

## G.

*General Assembly, the, of the Presbyterian Church*, the case of, 499.

*German Literature, Selections from, Review of* 198. The work highly commended 199. The Selections from Tholuck, Neander, Koster, and others, characterized 201. Passages in Tholuck's preaching 204. Peculiarities in the style of preaching 207. A biographical sketch of Tholuck 208. Doctrine of the resurrection, by Rückert 210. Remarks on the same. 211 The life of Plato by Tennemann—the sinless character of Jesus, by Ulmann 214. Remarks on the manner of these translations 216.

*Gibbs, Professor Josiah W.*, on the natural significance of articulate sounds 166. Biblical Criticisms and Remarks 480.

*Greece and Egypt, the origin of writing in*, 71.

*Griffin, Rev. Edward D., D. D.* *Sermons and Memoir of*, noticed 250.

## H.

*Handbuch der neuesten theologischen Literatur* by Fuhrmann, 487.

*Hare, Rev. W. A.*, Sermons of, noticed 251.

*Harper's Family Library*, 503.

*Hawks, Rev. Francis L., D. D.* His Contributions to Ecclesiastical History, noticed 490.

*Hebrew Grammar*, by George Bush, noticed 244.

*Hebrew Grammar* by Gesenius, translated by Prof. Conant, noticed 244.

*Helffenstein, Rev. Samuel Jr.* on the Church of God 308.

*Henry, Rev. C. S., D. D.* His Discourses and Essays appended to Whewell on the Foundation of Morals, noticed 245.

## J.

*Jewish Schools in Palestine* 269.

*Jewish Schools in Babylonia* 275.

*Jews, the*, their condition and belief at the time of the coming of Christ. Jost's General History of the Jews 173. The Jews at that time divided into three parties 175. One party adhered to their schools 175. Another party expected a full restoration of the Jewish Commonwealth 177. A third party earnestly sought a general reformation of morals 178. The facts exhibited in this history merit particular attention 181.

*Jubilee of the Constitution*, by J. Q. Adams, noticed 254.

## L.

*Law of Christ, the, Respecting Civil Obedience*, noticed 497.

*Lectures to Young Men*, by Dr. Spring, noticed 493.

*Literary and Miscellaneous Intelligence* 259, 506.

## M.

*Magee, Rev. W., D. D.* *His work on Atonement and Sacrifice*, 486.

*Mahan, Rev. Asa.* Review of his work on Christian Perfection 143.

*Mayer, Rev. Lewis, D. D.*, on the Wine Question 408.

*Metropolitan Pulpit, the*, noticed 254.

*Mental Philosophy, a Critical Exposition of*, by Sawyer, noticed 255.

*Mental Philosophy, Elements of*, by Prof. Upham, noticed 496.

*Miscellaneous Intelligence* 259, 506.

*Misapprehensions of the common English version of the Bible* 483.

*Murdock, Rev. James D. D.* his translation of a chapter of Jost's history of the Jews 174.

*Murray, C. Augustus, Travels*, 502.

*McDonner*, noticed 504.

## N.

*Natural Significancy of Articulate Sounds* 166.

*New Publications. list of*, 258, 505.

*Nordheimer, Prof. I.* on the Talmud and the Rabbies 261.

*Normal Schools and Teacher's Seminaries* 90.

*North America, Travels in*, 502.

## O.

*Obedience, Civil, the Law of Christ respecting* 497.

*Obligations of the World to the Bible*, noticed 493.

*Origin of Writing in Greece and Egypt, the*, 71.

## P.

*Park, Rev. Professor E. A.*, and, B. B. Edwards their selections from German Literature reviewed 198,—on the duties of a Theologian 347.

*Parker, Rev. T.*, on the origin of writing in Greece and Egypt, 71.

*Perfection, Christian. Review of President Mahan on*, 143. The question not fairly stated 143. The distinction between attainableness and actual attainment 144. Mr. Mahan's experience not in point 146. His arguments considered 150. General remarks 156. Other arguments of Mr. M. examined 158. One or two things which call for reprehension 161. Considerations in support of the doctrine that none ever reach a

state of perfect and perpetual holiness in this life 162.

*Philip, Robert, D. D.*, his life and times of Bunyan, noticed 255.

*Philosophy, Mental*, by Sawyer, 255.

*Philosophy, Mental*, by Upham, 496.

*Poetry and Letters, Cowper's* 449.

*Poetical Works of Robert Southey*, 491.

*Poets of America, the*, noticed 505

*Pond, Rev. E.*, D. D. on Evidence of Testimony 14, on Atheism 320.

*Porter, Rev. Noah, D. D.* on Sacramental Communion 1.

*Porter Rev. Noah Jr.* his review of Bacon's Historical Discourses 217.

*Preaching, discriminative*, 129. How to effect a right division of the word of truth 129. Difficulties in the way 131. Such a division indispensable to extended usefulness 134. Necessity of enlarged and accurate knowledge 137; a liberalized mind 138; a knowledge of men 139, and moral courage 140.

*Preaching, French, remarks on*, 332.

*Presbyterian Controversy*, notice of the 259.

*Presbyterian Church, Case of*, 499.

## Q.

*Question, the Wine*, 408.

## R.

*Rabbies, the Talmud and*, 261.

*Religious Controversy* 292.

*Review of Bacon's Historical Discourses* 217.

*Review of Mahan on Christian Perfection* 143.

*Review of Selections from German Literature* 198.

*Richardson, Charles*, his new Dictionary of the English language 166.

*Ripley, George*, his specimens of foreign standard literature, 247.

*Robbins, Rev. Royal*, on Religious Controversy 292.

## S.

*Sacramental Communion* 1.

*Sawyer, Rev. Leicester A.*, *Mental Philosophy* by, noticed 255.

*Sandwich Islands Missions*, 501.

- Schools, Normal, and Teachers Seminaries* 90. Demanded by the interests of popular education in each state 91; age of pupils to be received, and various classes 96. Course of instruction in teachers, seminaries, senior class 97. Varieties of intellectual development 101. Difference between education and mere instruction 103. The art of teaching 104. History of education important to be known 105. Rules of health 108. Dignity of the teacher's office 109. Religious obligations of teachers 109. Influence on civilization 111. General considerations in favor of model-schools 112. Objections answered 115. Chinese education 119. Prussian schools 121. School-counsellor Dinter 122. Improvement of school-teachers 123. A school journal 124.
- Schoolcraft, Henry Rowe*, Algic Researches by, noticed 252.
- Schrallings, the language of the* 191.
- Selections from German Literature*, Review of, 198.
- Sermons by Dr. Griffin*, noticed 250.
- Sermons by Augustus W Hare*, 251.
- Shephard, Rev. Prof. George*, on discriminative preaching 129.
- Sin—What is Sin?* 26. The point in debate stated 27. Have infants any proper knowledge of the divine law? 29. Are infants declared to be transgressors? 31. Numerous passages of Scripture explained 32. Another class of texts examined 37. Still another class examined 40. The position of Turretin and Edwards 41. The main facts not called in question 42. On what ground are infants saved? 43. Christ the Saviour of infants 45. The dispute is about diction, not things 48. The native state of man not properly denominated sinful 49. The term sinful explained 51. Our native propensities not themselves sin 52. Probation 53. The mystery of God's providence in respect to sin 55. No recognition in the Scriptures of two sorts of sin 57. The doctrine of the damnation of infants considered 59. Rejected 60. The sin of Adam 64. The difference between the Old School and the New School stated 67. Its importance not sufficient to justify division or alienation 68.
- Smith, Mrs. Sarah L.*, *Memoir of*, 258.
- Southey, Robert*, Poetical Works 491.
- Sprague, Rev. W. B., D. D.* his Memoir and Sermons of Dr. Griffin, 250.
- Spring, Gardiner, D. D.* His Lectures to Young Men, noticed 493.
- Spiritual Improvement*, noticed 259.
- Stowe, Rev. Calvin E., D. D.* on Normal schools and teachers' sems. 90.
- Strong Drink, Wine and*, 408.
- Stuart, Prof. M.* What is Sin? 26.
- T.
- Talmud, the, and the Rabbies*. Introductory remarks by the editor 261. Order of tradition 262. The Mishna 263. The oral law 264. Jewish schools in Palestine 268. Hillel and Shamai, the patience of Hillel 269. The restorer of the law 271. Rabbinism fully developed 275. The Mishna the rallying point of Judaism 277, the text book of the schools 278. Rabbinical schools in Babylonia 281. The three principal schools 285. Contents of the Babylonian Talmud 287.
- Teachers' Seminaries, Normal Schools and*, 90.
- Tappan, Rev. Henry P.* Review of Edwards on the Will by, 257.
- Testimony, evidence of*, 14. Hume's argument considered—the thing testified must be possible 15. There must be a competent number of witnesses, and they must have the means and the capacity 16—must be unexceptionable in moral character, and disinterested 17. Testimony must be direct and concurrent 18—confirmed by other evidence 19—and followed by consistent action 20. These principles illustrated 21, and applied to the recorded testimony in support of the facts of the Christian system 23.
- Theologian, Duties of a*, 347. A ra-



tional regard to the opinions of past ages 348, their authority in respect to essential doctrine and refined speculations 349. The authority of a few leading minds 350. An eclectic course recommended 351. The possibility of improving our standard theological systems 353. The relations of theology to other branches of knowledge 355. The philosophy of mind 357. Improvements which depend on the lapse of time 358. Danger of moving too fast. The duty of fraternal interest 359. Intolerance of theological dogmatists 360. Its effects 361. A pusillanimous orthodoxy 363. The causes and results of differences in religious opinion 365. Theology associated with what is delicate and refined in taste 370. Characteristics of Augustine and Calvin 371, of Edwards 372. The veneration due to him 374. The theology of some men divorced from morals 375. Piety 376. A tribute to the New England fathers 379. *Three Last Things, the*, noticed 505.

## U.

*Union Bible Dictionary, the*, 489.  
*Upham, Prof. Thomas C.* His *Elements of Mental Philosophy*, and *Treatise on the Will*, noticed 496. His work on *Imperfect and disordered mental action* 497.

## V.

*Van Valkenburgh, Rev. D.* on the *Duration of Christ's Kingdom* 439.

## W.

*Whewell, Rev. W.* his *Discourses on Foundations of Morals*, 245.

*Wilberforce, William*, *Life of*, noticed 248.

*Wine and Strong Drink, which when taken in excess produces intoxication. Is it morally wrong to drink them* 408. The Scriptures condemn drunkenness 409. Several passages examined 410. The strong drink of the Scriptures, not distilled spirits, but wine 416. Wine abundant in Palestine 417. Wine used at feasts, 418, spoken of as a blessing, etc. 419. Jesus drank wine 420. The Hebrew words *תירוש* and *יין* explained 421. Note by the editor 423.

*Is it expedient to abstain totally from all drinks that may intoxicate* 424. Note by the editor 424. Remarks on the principles of expediency 425. Object of Temperance Societies 427. The old pledge and the reasons for it 428. The tee-total pledge 429. Its reasons stated. Note by the editor 430. Replies to arguments 432.

*Writing the origin of, in Greece and Egypt* 71. Early use of letters in Greece 72. Use of letters on Grecian coins 77. Use of letters in Greek inscriptions 82. Use of letters in Egypt 86. An ancient roll of papyrus 86. Inscriptions on monuments 87. The testimony of Manetho 89.

## Y.

*Yale College, Annalso f*, noticed 494.

## ERRATA.

- |      |                                                                                              |
|------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Page |                                                                                              |
| 312. | 13th. line, for "uncontrovertible," read incontrovertible.                                   |
| 350. | " for "marshalls," read marshals.                                                            |
| 352. | 39th. line, for "reasoning," read reasonings.                                                |
| 353. | 18th. line, for "Lemborch," read Limborch.                                                   |
| 355. | 31st. line, for "Phenician," read Phœnician.                                                 |
| 356. | 34th. line, for "struggling," read strugglings.                                              |
| 362. | 33rd. line, for "such a mind," read such mind.                                               |
| 364. | 15th. line, for "despite," read in spite.                                                    |
| 365. | 2nd. line, for "rudeness," read rudenesses.                                                  |
| "    | 5th. line, for "interest," read interests.                                                   |
| 367. | 23rd. line, for "cerebrial," read cerebral.                                                  |
| 369. | 27th. line, for "habitude of a mere appendage of," read. hebetude of a mere appendage to.    |
| 371. | 10th. line, for "hardness," read hardnesses.                                                 |
| 374. | 39th. line, for "bachelor," read bachelors.                                                  |
| 378. | 2nd. line, for "not with pious feeling is unwrought," read, with pious feeling is inwrought. |









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